M U G H A L   D I P L O M A C Y

F R O M   A K B A R   T O   A U R A N G Z E B .

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FOEIGN RELATIONS OF THE
MUGHAL EMPIRE .

Ph. D
History
1932

MUGHAL DIPLOMACY

from Akbar to Aurangzeb.

An account of the foreign relations of the Mughal Empire in India based on original Persian sources.

Mughal diplomacy, its connection with diplomacy in general and oriental diplomacy in particular, with special reference to the privileges of ambassadors ceremonials, etc. at the Mughal court.

Relations with Persia, and controversy about Qandahar.

Relations with Trans-Oxiana, and the Central Asiatic policy of the Mughal Emperors with an account of Abdullah' Khan Usbeg's treaty with Akbar concerning the division of Persia and Amangzeb's attempts to revive the old alliance.

Relations with Turkey and the attitude of the Mughal Emperors towards the Ottoman Caliphate, with an account of Shahjahan's attempt to form a league of sunni powers against Persia.

P R E F A C E

1

The writing of this thesis has presented peculiar difficulties. In any other branch of Indian history one may start at any convenient period, assume a knowledge of the facts, and from that point begin one's research in the light of recent advances. In most cases the premises have already been established by the patient research of European scholars, and one's task is considerably narrowed down.

The study of Mughal Diplomacy, however, involves a controversy based upon fundamental differences of outlook, which are neither purely Indian nor quite foreign, and which will gain their proper historic importance when the new history of India - in the light of events in the surrounding countries and their repercussion on India - comes to be written. Meanwhile an attempt has been made in the following pages to reconstruct from original sources a critical account of the foreign relations of the Mughal Empire during the four memorable reigns.

As there is almost a total absence of any special literature dealing with their embassies during this period, all I had to do was to select from histories and narratives of India, Persia, Trans-Oxiana and Turkey

such facts as bear directly or indirectly on the diplomatic relations and after carefully comparing them with each other, subject them to the penetrating observation of some European traveller, scholar or historian. When this method was not possible I had to depend entirely on the comparative merits of different works. In most cases the extravagant accounts of the Indian historians are considerably toned down by the criticism of the historians of the neighbouring countries and vice-versa.

This mass of raw material, which has been carefully sifted and has led to results, falls into the following categories:- (i) Histories and Inshas of India, Persia, Trans-Oxiana and Turkey. (ii) Political literature. (iii) European travellers and historians.

It must not be assumed that this thesis is a mere chronicle of events or a bare narration of facts relating to different embassies sent out or received by the Mughal Emperors, but an attempt has been made to study impartially and critically the foreign policy of the Empire and to estimate as far as possible the position of India in the international affairs of those days.

The scope of the work has been limited to diplomatic relations with Persia, Trans-Oxiana and Turkey on the advice of my supervisor. It could have been extended to embrace the relations with Europeans powers. It might have been stretched in another way to include the relations maintained with the states of the Deccan. But expansion in either form would have been inconsistent with the purpose of the thesis as a whole.

In a small introductory chapter on Mughal Diplomacy I have tried to explain the relation of Mughal Diplomacay to diplomacy in general, and to the Muslim conception of diplomatic intercourse in particular, and to include salient points about diplomatic practices in the East.

I take this opportunity of thanking my supervisor, without whose constant encouragement, help, guidance, and, above all, linguistic knowledge, this thesis could never have been written. I have to confess that his interest in the subject of his choice never abated, even at times when I was in a very despondent mood owing to the scattered and varied nature of the material, it was his constant sympathetic encouragement which kept me at my research for nearly three years. He also considerably facilitated my

task by lending me his unpublished papers and by helping me to understand Turkish manuscripts.

For the transliteration of Oriental names I have followed the methods adopted by Sir Denison Ross in his Index to the Arabic History of Gujrat, which in itself is a complete list, but in some cases I have retained the popular form of spelling. When referring to British Museum manuscripts no particulars besides the number are given

The contents comprise, first, a list of the chief sources, with brief particulars; then an introductory chapter on Mughal Diplomacy. Then follow three books dealing with relations with Persia, Central Asia and Turkey respectively. Each book is further divided into four chapters to cover the four reigns. To this is added a short conclusion and bibliographies.

C H I E F   S O U R C E S.

PERSIAN

Jāmiʿa-i-Marāsilāt, by Abu'l Qāsim Āivāghʿalī Haidar.

(ADD 7688)

A remarkable collection of letters, mostly of the kings of Persia and their ministers. Some letters of the kings of India and Turkey are also given. They start from the time of Alp Arslān Saljūq and continue down to the reign of Shāh Ṣafī I. Among the earlier letters if the interesting correspondence between Imām Ghazzāli and Niẓām-ul-mulk. The author was the superintendent of the palace under Shāh Ṣafī I. and had access to the official records of that time. The work is divided into four parts and each part into several faṣls. The following letters of the Ṣafavī period have been of great use to me, and are invaluable to historians of Mughal India:-

(1) Two letters of Humāyūn to Ṭahmāsp. ff.104b.

(2) Ṭahmāsp's reply. ff.105.

(3) Humāyūn's letter to Ṭahmāsp after crossing the Persian frontier. ff.105b.

(4) Letters of Shāh Tāhir from India to Ṭahmāsp and Maulānā Shamsuddin ff.124-125.

(5) Letter of Humāyūn to Bahādur Shāh, the king of Gujrat f.128

Note:- This work is also known as Jamiʿa-i-Inshā and Majmuʿa-i-Marāsilāt. For names like Abu l Fadl Faidi etc. I have used Z for ḍ, in words like Shiaʿh, Bāburnāmah I have dropped h's in the end in most cases. For titles of books etc. I have adopted the popular form of spelling.

(6) Reply from Bahādur. ff. 126b.

(7) Letter of I'timād-ud-daullah Qāzī Jahān to Humāyūn. ff. 127.

(8) Letter of Bilqis Makānī Mariam Begum from India to her mother in Persia. ff. 127B.

(9) To her sister Zainab Begum ff.127B.

(10) Letter of Ismā'īl Mirzā to Ḥakīm Mirzā brother of Akbar ff.128.

(11) Letter of Shāh Ṭahmāsp to Akbar after the death of Humāyūn, sent with Sayyid Beg Ṣafavī son of Prince M'asūm Beg Ṣafavī. ff.110.

(12) Letter of Shāh 'Abbās to Akbar sent with Yādgār Sultān Rūmlū. ff. 202b - 204b.

(13) Letter of Akbar to 'Abbās sent with Amīr-Zainuddīn Kāshi. ff. 205-206b.

(14) Letter of 'Abbās to Akbar sent with Manūchhar Beg in reply to the above. ff. 206b - 209b.

(15) Letter from 'Abbās to Akbar sent with Mīr Muḥammad M'asūm Bukhārī (Inshā of Maulānā Khalil and Qārī Lāhjī) ff. 209b.

(16) Letter of 'Abbās to Akbar. ff.211b.

(17) Letter of 'Abbās to Salīm sent with Darwish Beg Qazvīnī. ff. 212b.

(18) Letter of 'Abbās to Salīm Shāh in connection with Akbar's death. ff.214.

(19) Letter of 'Abbās to Salīm in connection with the despat

of ʿAlī Sulṭān Talash. ff.214b.

(20) Letter of Shāh Salīm to ʿAbbās sent with Khān ʿĀlam. f.215.

(21) Letter of ʿAbbās to Salīm sent with Muḥammad Riẓa Beg Shāmlū. ff.217.

(22) Letter of Shāh Salīm to ʿAbbās sent with Muḥammad Sharīf Mashhadī. ff.216b.

(23) Letter of ʿAbbās to Salīm in connection with the conquest of Kurdistān sent with Mustafā Beg Shāmlū. ff.217.

(24) Reply from Salīm. ff.217.

(25) Letter of ʿAbbās to Salīm in connection with Usṭurlāb (?) ff.218.

(26) A small note of Salīm to ʿAbbās in his own hand-writing. ff.218b.

(27) A note from ʿAbbās to Salīm sent with Sabā Rafīq. ff.218b.

(28) Letter of ʿAbbās to Salīm in connection with the death of Parwīz. ff.219.

(29) Letter of ʿAbbās to Nūr Jahān. ff.219.

(30) Letter of ʿAbbās to Salīm sent with Zanīl Beg. 219b.

(31) Letter of ʿAbbās to Salīm after the conquest of Qandahār. ff.220.

(32) Salīm's reply. ff.220b.

(33) Letter of ʿAbbās to Salīm after the conquest of Baghdād containing another apology about Qandahār sent with Āqā Muḥammad Musṭafī. ff.222.

(34) Salīm's reply. ff.223.

(35) Prince Dāniyāl to ʿAbbās. ff.223b.

(36) Reply to Dāniyāl. ff.225.

(37) Khurram to ʿAbbās sent with Zāhid Beg. ff.226.

(38) Reply to above.

(39) Khurram to ʿAbbās sent with Isḥāq Beg.

(40) Khurram to ʿAbbās sent with Khwājā Ḥājī.

(41) ʿAbbās to Khurram (note) after Salīm's death. ff.229.

(42) ʿAbbās to Shāhjahān in connection with the death of Salīm, intended to have been sent with Taktā Beg but eventually sent with Muḥammadi Beg. ff.229.

(43) ʿAbbās to the rulers of the Deccan in connection with frustrating Salīm's attack. ff.229b.

(44) To ʿĀdil Shāh - through Āqā Malik Muḥammad. ff.230.

(45) To Muḥammad Quṭbshāh - through Shaikh Khātūnī ff.230b.

(46) To ʿAbdullah Quṭbshāh - through Khairāt Khān. ff.231b.

(47) Shāhjahān to Ṣafī I. - through Mīr Birkā. ff.251

(48) Ṣafī's reply (personal). ff.252.

(49) Ṣafī's to Shāhjahān - through Muḥammad Beg. 252b.

The following letters though not directly

referring to India have been of great use to me in reviewing Central Asiatic policy.

(a) ʿAbbās to ʿAbdullah Khān Uzbeg. (Two letters) ff.332 & ff.232b.

(b) ʿAbdulmuʾmin to ʿAbbās. (Two letters) ff. 233b & ff.234.

(c) Two more letters from ʿAbdulmuʾmin. ff.235.

(d) ʿAbbās' reply. ff.236.

The correspondence between them goes on to ff.241

(e) ʿAbbās to Nazr Muḥammad.

(f) ʿAbbās to ʿAbdurraḥīm Khwājā, brother of Ḥasan Khwājā.

Correspondence between ʿAbbās and Khān Aḥmad of Gīlān. ff.242-243b.

Correspondence between ʿAbbās and Imāmqulī. ff.258-259.

I have also quoted several letters to and from the Sulṭans of Turkey given in this collection.

Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafavīyah (Or 3388.)

A standard history of the Ṣafavī dynasty from its origin to the reign of Shāh Ṣafī I. by Mirzā Beg bin Ḥasan Ḥasanī Jūnābādī. It has been of great use to me as it refers more often to events in India, Turkey and Trans-Oxiana than other contemporary works.

<u>A History of Shāh Ismā'īl,</u> by Muḥammad 'Alī bin Nūrā.

(B.M. Or 3245).

It also contains the history of the Ṣafavī family, especially Ṣadruddīn and his ancestors, andsupplies many details not given elsewhere.

<u>A History of Ismā'īl and Ṭahmāsp,</u> by Āmīr Muḥammad bin Amīr Khwandamīr. (B.M. Or 2939)

The work ends with the events of the year 957 A.H. It has been so far the chief source of information besides 'Ālam-ārāi-'Abbāsī for modern historians for the Ṣafavīs.

<u>Aḥsan-ut-twārīkh,</u> by Husain Beg Rūmlū, a grandson of Amīr Sulṭān. (B.M. Or 4134)

This is the official history of the reign of Ṭahmāsp and bears the usual flavour of a court history. This manuscript is in beautiful nastālīk and in an excellent state of preservation. I have referred to this work on many occasions in the following pages. This book, together with 'Ālam-ārāi 'Abbasi forms, more or less, the basis of Browne's chapters on "Creation of the Ṣafavī Power."

<u>Afzal-ut-twārīkh.</u>

An independent history of the reign of Ṭahmāsp

by an unknown author. Very useful for some events not mentioned in Aḥsan, but some pages in the beginning are missing. It is very rare.

Tarikh 'Ālam-ārāi-'Abbāsī, by Mirzā Iskandar Munshī.

(ADD 16,684)

The book is too well-known to require any further description here. The author being one of the royal munshis became a favourite of Vazīr I'timādud-daullah Ḥātim Beg and on his recommendation was entrusted with the task of writing this history. It is very partial towards 'Abbās and shows him in a very flattering light. The early portion, though brief, is more independent. A continuation was subsequently written at the command of Shāh Ṣafī I. by Murtazā Qulī Khān the Governor of Ganjā. A very beautiful copy (Or 152) of the work was sent by 'Abbās to Sulṭān Quṭb Shāh in 1021 A.H., but it does not contain some of the subsequent additions.

A History of the Reign of Shāh 'Abbās I., by Jalāluddin Munajjim Yazdī. (B.M. ADD 27,241)

The work, though not a court history, is not very independent. The author was the court astrologer and most of the events recorded by him were either seen by him or obtained from reliable second-hand information. The

book is of great value as some of the events mentioned are nowhere else recorded. It was due to Jalāl's predictions that in 1002 A.H. Shāh 'Abbās left the throne for three days to avoid the unfavourable aspect of the stars. A substitute was put whose life was legally forfeited. Jalāl was much afraid lest the temporary king might wreak his vengeance on him during his short-lived sovereignty, but his fears proved groundless. Unfortunately the present manuscript is badly damaged, and is in places almost useless. The India Office manuscript too is not very good.

Khuld-i-barīn.

A history of the Ṣafavī dynasty. The earlier portion of the work has unfortunately been lost, consequently the name of the author cannot be traced, but some information about him can be gathered from the work. It seems he was a younger brother of Ṭahīr Wahid and was for a time the Vazīr of artillery. The author gives great prominence to the events in India and supplies many details about 'Alī Mardān's intrigues and Bulāqi's proposed invasion which are not to be found in other books.

Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhir, by Mirzā Ṭāhir Vaḥīd. (ADD 11,632)

Also known as Tārīkh-i-Jadīd

The author was a favourite of the Vazīr Taqiuddīn and a courtier of the Shāh. The book is written consequently in the usual official strain. It finishes with the events of 1656 A.H. The question of Qandahār is discussed at some length towards the end of the work.

Qiṣaṣ-ul-khāqānī, by Walī Qulī Shāmlū. (B.M. ADD 7656)

A history of the reign of Shāh Ṣafī I. and ʿAbbās II. It derives its name from the chivalrous deeds of ʿAbbās II, gives a good deal of attention to events in India, especially to the War of Succession, Shāh's attack on Qandahār, and Tarbiat Khān's mission to Persia. Shāh's letters to Aurangzeb are also reproduced. Very partial towards the Shāh and Prince Murād who became a Shīʿa in order to get the Shāh's help. Aurangzeb's doings are presented in a very unfavourable light.

Zubdat-ut-Twārīkh, by Kamāluddin bin Jalāl. (OR 2060)

A history of the Ṣafavī dynasty but the earlier portions are more or less useless as the author tries to trace the history from the time of Nūh. Useful for the reigns of Ṣafī I. and ʿAbbās II., to which a greater portion of the work is devoted.

Ruqa'āt-i-Shāh Abbās II. (ADD 7690)

Contains many important letters about the siege of Qandahār and the Shāh's letters to Dārā, Murād and Aurangzeb. It is also known as Munsha'āt-i-Ṭāhir. There are many letters addressed to the Emperors of Russia and Turkey. Sir Denison Ross has a beautiful copy in his private collection.

T U R K I S H

Tabaqāt-i-Mamālik, by Musṭafa bin Jalāl

(ADD 7855)

A history of the reign of Sulṭān Sulaimān up to the rebellion of his son Bāyazīd. The author - commonly known as Owlyā Chalabi or Jalālzādā - was the minister of conferences at the Porte. It gives an account of the Sultān's expedition to Gujrāt, adventures of Sīdī 'Alī, etc., etc.,

Tārīkhi-Sulṭān Sulaimān, by Farīdī (Manuscript 998 H.O. 42a. Nat. Bib. Vienna)

Contains an account of (i) The Sulṭān's expedition to Gujrāt; (ii) the arrival of an embassy from Gujrāt; (iii) Sīdī 'Alī ; (iv) Burhān son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodhī. I am grateful to Sir Denison Ross for lending me his private photographic copy.

Munsha 'āt wa ba 'z waqāi 'i-Sulṭān Sulaimān Khān

By Aḥmad Farīdūn Beg. (Manuscript H.O.50. Nat.Bib. Vienna).

Contains Akbar's letter to Sulṭān Sulaimān Khān sent with Sīdī 'Alī bin Ḥusain, the Turkish admiral and poet, shipwrecked on the coast of Gujrāt and a short account of Sīdī 'Alī's overland journey.

Dastūr-ul-Inshā, by Ries-ul-kutab Isārī 'Abdullah Effendī.

(Manuscript H.O.167, Nat.Bib. Vienna).

Contains many state papers and other important documents some of which are nowhere else recorded. The author was the Chief of the chancellery of the foreign office at the Porte and was the right-hand man of the Grand Vazir Muṣṭafa Pāshā. Some of the letters included in this valuable collection were penned by the author himself expecially Muṣṭafa's interesting letters to Dārā Shikoh and Islām Khān. Besides the letters of the Ottoman Sulṭāns many letters of the Shāhs of Persia and the rulers of Māvarā-un-Nahr are also given. Isārī 'Abdullah has also left a diwan ('Abdī), a commentary on the Masnavī of Jalāl-ud-din Rūmī, and an interesting work on Moḥiyud-din-ibn al 'Arabī, the author of Faṣūṣ-ul-Hikam. Some of the headings of the letters are misleading (as in Munsha āt-i-Salāṭīn) but this is due to the fact that the sender in oriental correspondence of this type seldom gives his name. The following letters have been of use to me:

(1) "Copy of the letter of Humāyūn Pādshāh ruler of India sent with Sīdī 'Alī to the threshold of Sulṭān Sulaimān."

This is the same letter which is attributed to Akbar by Aḥmad Farīdūn and on his authority by Von Hammer and Sir Thomas Arnold. Isārī ʿAbdullah however classifies it as that of Humāyūn and also gives the name of the Kātib as Khwājā Maḥmūd Lāri. Monsieur Schefer in his Chrestomathie Persane reproduces the letter without any comment on this subject - I am inclined to think that the letter was drafted by Maḥmūd Larī at the time of Humāyūn and was sent in the same form by Akbar after his father's sudden death. Sīdī ʿAlī does not supply any explicit information on this subject. Aḥmad Farīdūn's version is slightly different from Isārī's and it is surprising that Sir Thomas Arnold quotes only Aḥmad Farīdūn's Bā'z Waqāi yet the words "Aurang-i-khilāfat" do not occur in the version given by Aḥmad Farīdūn though they are to be found both in Isārī ʿAbdullah's and Schefer's copy of it.

(2) Copy of the letter sent by Shāh Ṭahmāsp through Sīdī ʿAlī to Sulṭān Sulaimān.

(3) Copy of the letter from Burāq Khān (Borak of Vambery) to Sulṭān Sulaimān Khān sent with Sīdī Alī.

(4) Copy of the letter of Salīm Shāh (Jahāngīr) to ʿAbbās Ṣafavī. This is a very interesting letter which is nowhere else recorded and was sent soon after the fall of Qandahār. The Shāh is addressed as "Pahalwān ʿAbbās Mirzā;" its tone is very offensive.

(5) The Shāh's reply. This is equally interesting. The Shāh mocks at Jahāngīr's ultimatum and threat to invade Persia and expresses a hope to receive him with the army of Persia. Both the letters are nowhere else reproduced.

(6) Shāhjahān's letter to Murād IV sent with Ẓarīf. Here the Sulṭān is addressed as "Khalīfa" and an appeal is made to him to form a triple alliance against the "sinful innovators." This letter too is nowhere else reproduced.

(7) The letter of Islām Khān the Prime Minister of Shāhjahān to Muṣṭafa Pāshā where dissatisfaction is expressed at the tone of Sulṭān Murād's letter and Shāhjahān is styled as "Khalīfa."

(8) Muṣṭafa's reply.

(9) Letter from Dārā Shikoh to Muṣṭafa Pāshā sent with Mulla Shakkī.

(10) Muṣṭafa's reply.

Tārīkh Na'imā.

The official history of the Sulṭāns of Turkey from 1000 A.H. to 1134 A.H. in two volumes. It contains a detailed account of the embassies to and from India. The British Museum has a copy of the printed text (Constantinople 1786).

Munsha'āt-i-Salāṭīn, by Aḥmad Firidūn Beg.

The book is too well known to require description here. It contains correspondence between Bāyazid and Timūr (1180129 Vol. I.); between Muḥammad I. and Shāhrukh (142-151); between Muḥammad II and the Behmanī Sulṭans, between Salīm and Isma'īl (351-367). Unfortunately the printed text in the British Museum does not contain the following letters in Volume II., as the pages are missing.

(i) Letter from Grand Vazīr of Turkey to the Vazīr of Shāhjahān. p.59.

(ii) Letter from Grand Vazīr to the son of the Shāh of India. P.61.

(iii) Letter from the Vazīr of the Shāh of India to the Turkish Grand Vazīr. p.62.

(iv) Letter from the Shāh of India to the Sulṭān expressing dissatisfaction. p.65.

(v) Letter from the Shāh of India in connection with

the conquest of Īrān. p.67.

(vi) Imperial letter to the Shāh of India. p.69. However, it contains the Sulṭān's letter to Jahāngīr. p.142. The correspondence between the Sulṭāns of Turkey and Behmanī Sulṭāns is also given in the British Museum MS. OR 16; ff 44b.

C E N T R A L   A S I A T I C.

<u>Tārikh-i-Rashīdī</u>, by Mirzā Ḥaidar Dulghāt. (ADD 24090).

The book is well known in Europe through its translation into English by Sir Denison Ross.

<u>Tazkirah-i-Mukīm Khānī</u>. (R.A.S. 161)

A history of the Uzbeg Khāns of Māvarā-un-Nahr, by Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī bin Khwājā Bakā, who dedicated his work to Mukīm Khān, a son of Subḥān Qulī. The history comprises a preface and three books.

Preface:- The Genealogy of Bāzānjār Khān up to ʿAbdul Khair Khān, who reigned for 40 years over Dashti Qipchāq, from the country of Rūs (Russia) to the boundary of Bulghār and Turkistān, and was the grandfather of Shaibānī Khān.

Book I.:- The Shaibānīds (from Shaibānī to ʿAbdul Mumīn).

Book II.:- The Ashtarkhānis (I) (from Jānī Muḥammad to Subḥān Qulī.

Book III.:- Account of Mukīm Khān.

This work has been of very great use to me, special for the Ashtarkhānis, to which three quarters of it are devoted.

I. The Ashterkhānis are commonly styled as Astrākhāns but the above work calls them: "اشترخانی"

ʿAbdullahnāma, by Tanish bin Muḥammad al Bukhārī.

(India Office MS. 574).

A very rare and useful history of ʿAbdullah Khān Uzbeg and his son ʿAbdul Mu'min. The work is divided into two parts. The first portion deals with the history of ʿAbdullah during Iskandar Khān's lifetime and the second after Iskandar's death.

Baḥr-ul-asrār fi manaqib-ul-Akhyār, by Muḥammad bin Amīr Walī. (I.O. 575).

A history of the Ashtarkhāni sovereigns of Trans-Oxiana. It is very rare and is written in beautiful nastaʿlik. It is easy to consult as almost every page has a very useful heading.

Maṭla-i-Saʿdain wa Majma i Beḥrain, by ʿAbdur Razzāq Saramqandī.

A very useful background for the history of the Mughals. The author, a native of Herāt, was sent in A.D. 1442 (845 A.H.) by Shāh Rukh on an embassy to Vijiānagar. There is an unpublished translation of the whole work in Paris. The portion dealing with Vijianagar has been translated into English by Mr. Major. Interesting extracts from the work, especially the account of the two embassies from the court of Herat, one

to China, the other to India, have been published in French by E. M. Quatremere.

See Notices et Extrait des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque du Rois, Vol. XIV. pp 1-473.

I N D I A N

Majmua-ʻul-Inshā, by Ashrāf Khān. (OR 1702).

A most valuable collection of letters, treaties and other important documents of Mughal India, especially of the time of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb. The following letters are important:-

Letter of Shāhjahān to Shāh Ṣafī. (Munshaʻā t-i-Afzal Khān) ff 115 b.

Letter to Shāh ʻAbbās II in connection with the death of Shāh Ṣafī. ff 122 b.

Letter to Naẓr Muḥammad (by Saʻdullah Khān) ff 126 b.

Another letter to Naẓr Muḥammad after his escape to Persia. (Saʻdullah) ff 128 b.

Letter to Shāh ʻAbbās II. after the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān. ff 131.

Another letter to Nazr Muḥammad sent with Khwāja Qāsim. ff 135 b.

Shāhjahān to Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān Ḉaesar of Rūm. (Saʻdullah) ff 138 b.

Reply from Sulṭān Muḥammad. ff 148 b.

Shāhjahān to Sulṭān Muḥammad. (Saʻdullah) ff 152 b.

Copy of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's firmān in connection with Humāyūn's visit to Persia. ff 167.

Humāyūn's letter to Ṭahmāsp. ff 174 b.

Akbar's letter to ʻAbdullah Khān. ff 198 b. (Abuʻl Fath)

ʻAbdullah Khān's letter to Akbar. ff 199.

Letter to Bāqī Khān, ruler of Tranx-Oxiana. ff 205.

Letter to ʿAbbās from Akbar. ff 206.

Correspondence between Shāhjahān and ʿAbbās during Jahāngīr's lifetime. 210 b - 217 b.

Letter from Janāhegīr sent with Khān ʿĀlam. ff 262 b.

Makhzan-i-Afghānia, by Niʿmatullah.

The author was for 30 years a secretary of the Revenue department under Akbar and for 11 years a waqi ah-navīs under Jahānegīr; later on he became the librarian to Khān Khānān. The work mostly covers the pre-Mughal period but comes down to 1612.

Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, by Minhāj-ud-dīn bin Muḥammad.

The book is too well known to require any further description. I have used Raverty's translation. It is very useful for the pre-Mughal period.

Baburnāma.

(i) Persian text by ʿAbdur Rahīm Khān Khānān.

(ii) Erskine and Leyden translation of the above.

(iii) Mrs. Beveridge's translation of the original Turkish.

It has been very useful for Bābur's relations with Ismā īl and his attitude towards Qandahār.

Humāyūnnāmā, by Gulbadan Begum.

Very useful for Humāyūn's reign, especially his alliance with Ṭahmāsp. There is a good translation by Mrs. Beveridge.

Tazkerah-al-Vāki'āt, by Jauhar.

A very useful history of the reign of Humāyūn by one of his courtiers, written with independence. A translation by C. Stewart is also very useful.

Akbarnāma, by Abu'l Fazl.

The whole Persian text has been translated with great diligence and ability by Mr. Beveridge with very useful footnotes which in themselves are a mine of information to all oriental scholars. Abu'l Fazl though in places critical and impartial is usually very partial to Akbar and glosses over certain unpleasant incidents. On the whole the book is the chief source of information for Akbar's reign. In cases of doubt I have consulted the manuscripts in the British Museum and India Office Library.

<u>Takmīl-i-Akbarnāmā</u>, by ʿInāyatullah.. Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

It is the continuation of Abu'l Fazl's work. An incomplete translation by Chalmers is not of much use. Some passages have also been translated and appear in Elliot and Dawson. With the completion of Mr. Beveridge's work they are now of little use.

<u>Ā'in-i-Akbarī</u>, by Abu'l Fazl.

Both the original Persian text and its translation by Blockman and Jarrett are well known. An imperfect earlier translation by Gladwin too, is useful.

<u>Muntakhab-at-twārīkh Al-Budāunī</u>. Vols I. and II.

Both the original Persian text and Rankin' and Lowe's translation have been published in Bib; Indica series. It is very useful in toning down some of the extravagant descriptions of Abu'l Fazl, but a strong strain of intolerance and bigotry disfigures the whole work. Some incidents mentioned in it are not given by Abu'l Fazl and Niẓāmuddīn. The author is very bitter in his remarks about Abu'l Fazl, Faizi and Hindū nobles.

Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, by Nizāmuddīn Bakhshī.

Nearly the whole of it has been translated in Elliot V. 247-476. Some of the dates are wrong but on the whole it is a very reliable source of information. The Persian text has been lately published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series.

Iqbālnāma, by Moʻtamad Khān.

The book is divided into three parts:- (i) the history of the house of Tīmūr (ii) Akbar; (iii) Jahāngīr. The first two parts are scarce but the third has been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. Moʻtamad Khān was a Bakhshī in Jahāngīr's time and a great favourite of Shāhjahān. (For his life see MU iii 430).

Akbarnāma, by Shaikj Allahdād Sirhindī.

A his tory of the reign of Akbar; useful for certain additional information not supplied by Abu'l Fazl, Budāūni and Nizāmuddīn.

Zubdat-ut-twārīkh, by Nūr-ul-Haq.

Gives only a brief but useful history of the reign of Akbar.

Anfaʻul Akhbār, by Muhammad Amīr.

Some passages have been translated in Elliot and

Dawson, pp. 244-250, Vol VI., but I have used the original Persian text.

Waqāiʿ, by Asad Beg Qazvīnī.

This work relates chiefly to the author's mission to Bījāpūr but indirectly it deals with many other important events. Very useful for understanding Akbar's attitude towards the states of the Deccan. The whole work has been translated by Captain Chapman, but unfortunately not published. It is now to be found in the papers of Sir Henry Elliot in the British Museum.

Tuzk-i-Jahāngīrī.

The book is well known through its translation by Rogers from the Persian text published by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad. All controversy about it has now ended, and Major Price's manuscript is regarded as forgery. The account of the first seventeen years was written by Jahāngīr himself, and of two subsequent years by Moʿtamad Khān when the Emperor's health broke down. The narrative was subsequently completed by Muḥammad Hādī down to the time of Jahangir's death in Tatimma-i-Jahāngīrī.

Ma'asir-i-Jahāngīrī, by Kāmgār Ḥusain.

Some information supplied in this book is not to

be found in other works. I have used the British Museum manuscript. The work was composed after Jahāngīr's death, consequently it contains at places strong remarks about Nūr Jahān.

Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī, by 'Abdul Bāqī.

Though it deals with the Khān Khānān's life, it is a very useful source of information for many events of the time of Akbar and Janāhgīr.

Bahār-i-Sukhan. Muḥammad Ṣāleh. B.M. OR 178)

Contains Aurangzeb's letters.

(1) To 'Abbās II. ff 13.

(2) To 'Abdul 'Azīz Khān, ruler of Tūrān. ff 24 b.

(3) XX Fāzil Khān's letter to 'Abdul 'AzīzKhān. ff 27.

(4) Imperial letter to Subḥān Qulī Khān, the ruler of Balkh. ff 29.

(5) To Ḥasan Pāshā of Baṣrā. ff 34 b.

(6) Letters to Ḥasan Khān, Governor of Herāt. ff 41 -

Mukatibāt-i-'Allāmī

Letters written by Abu'l Fazl partly in the name of Akbar, partly his own. It contains Akbar's letters to 'Abbās I and to 'Abdullah Khān, also Abu'l Fazl's letter to Hakīm Hamām containing instructions about the

proposed treaty with ʿAbdullah. The letters were collected by ʿAbdus Samad bin Afzal Muhammad, a son of ʿAllāmī's sister. The author of Majmua ul-inshā, however, tells us that some letters written by Ḥakīm Abu'l Fatḥ, especially the two letters to ʿAbdullah Khān, were wrongly included in the collection by the mistake of the compiler.

The work is divided into three parts. Elliot, however, mentions a fourth part. It is difficult to say what is the source of his information but the author of Savāhiḥ-i-Akbarī also mentions it. Mr. Beveridge has rashly assumed that there is no such part. The letter to ʿAbdullah Khān, which Elliot says is to be found in the fourth part, is given in Majmuaʿ-ul-Inshā but it was not written by Abu'l Fazl as already stated.

Waqdiʿ, by Faizī.

An account of Faizi's historic mission to the rulers of the Deccan. It also gives a brief account of the conditions in Persia and Khurāsān gathered through one Ḥājī Ibrāhīm - a courtier of Ṭahmāsp and Akbar - who came to the Deccan during Faizi's stay there. The whole work has been translated by Lieut. Prichard and is at present in the British Museum (Papers of Elliot), but as it is almost illegible I have used

the original Persian text.

Pādshāhnāma, by Mirzā Amīnāī Qazvīnī.

The writer was a protege of Shāhjahān's minister Afzal Khān. He was entrusted with compiling an account of the first ten years of Shāhjahān's reign. The work is in a very simple and elegant style.

Padshāhnāma, by Jalāluddin Ṭabāṭabaī.

After Qazvīnī's removal four years of Shāhjahān's reign, 5th to 8th, were rewritten in a new work. The language is very difficult and pompous.

Padshāhnāma, by ʻAbdul Ḥamīd Lāhaurī.

Covers the first 20 years of Shāhjahān's reign. The earlier portion is more or less a repetition of Qazvīnī but in places supplies additional information. A very useful work.

Pādshāhnāma, by Muḥammad Wāris.

As Lāhaurī was too old he had the work entrusted to his pupil Wāris , who brought the work down to the 30th year of Shāhjahan's reign.

Shāhjahānāma, by Muhammad Ṣādiq.

An independent work. Very useful for some facts

glossed over by the court historians.

ʿAmal-i-Ṣāleh, by Muhammad Ṣāleh Kambūh.

A critical history of Shāhjahān's reign probably written during the time of Aurangzeb, as it is very favourably disposed towards him and is hostile towards his brothers.

ʿAlamgīrnāma, by Muḥammad Kāzim.

An official history of the first decade of Aurangzeb's reign. Very partial towards Aurangzeb.

Ma'ās ir-i- Ālamgīrī, by Muḥammad Ṣāqi (Mustaʿid Khān)

A complete history of Aurangzeb's reign based on official papers.

Ẓafarnāmā-i-ʿĀlamgīrī, by ʿĀqil Khān Rāzī.

This work was for a long time wrongly attributed to Mīr Khān. Begins from 1657 and finishes with the death of Mīr Jumla.

Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb, by Muḥammad Hāshim Khāfi Khān.

A useful and critical history of the Mughal Emperors from Bābur to Muḥammad Shāh. Khāfī Khān in 1694 went on a mission to Bombay.

P O L I T I C S.

Seyāsatnāma, by Niẓām-ul-Mulk.

The book in the opinion of Barthold "is incontestably the chief source for the study of the political structure of the Eastern Muslim States." (page 25, Vol V) Chapter XXII. is devoted to ambassadors, etc. It has been very useful to me in understanding the Muslim conception of diplomatic intercourse.

Ādāb-ul-Malūk, by Sharif bin Manṣūr. (Add 16853).

The author dedicates the book to Ilhutmish and was probably an inhabitant of Multan. Chapter VI. deals with embassies, etc. The whole work has been of great use to me. It is very rare, only two copies are known to exist. It is also known as Kifāyat ul malūk and Ādāb-ul-harb wa shujā'at. (See India Office Ms. 2767, Ethe p. 1494).

Nasā h, by Niẓām-ul-Mulk.

It contains counsels to his son about politics in general and the duties of a Vazir in particular. An account of his embassy to the Caliph is also given. There are frequent references to Hassan bin Sabah, Al Ghazzālī, 'Omar Khayyām and other contemporaries of the famous statesman. Some authorities doubt the authenticity of this work.

MUGHAL DIPLOMACY.

"There is one way and only one
That I should go as an ambassador
To him, and weigh his state."

Shāhnāma.

When we speak of Mughal Diplomacy we mean the way in which the Mughal Emperors of India maintained their diplomatic relations with Persia, Trans-Oxiana and Turkey. They had no special rules for the management of their external relations, but followed certain time-honoured oriental conventions, which, like the diplomacy of to-day, were indefinable, and into which the personal element entered to a very large extent. These conventions were not fundamentally different from those followed in the west, at least so far as formalities were concerned, for both Eastern and Western diplomacy were much influenced, in the early stages of their development, by diplomatic intercourse between the Imperial Government at Constantinople and Persia.(1) Constantinople remained the centre of diplomacy even after its conquest by the Turks, and with the advent of the Safavī Empire in

(1) Professor Bury thinks that modern diplomacy originated from the tedious negotiations between the Imperial and Persian governments. The Later Roman Empire I., p. 92.

Persia all the elements of the older diplomacy were once more revived and had their repercussions all over the East and West.(1)

Differences

There were, however, some marked differences, due to the absence in the East of congresses and conferences between the representatives of independent states for readjusting territories after wars, and of International treaties, to which more than two states were parties. Thus diplomacy in the East did not develop into "a process of exalted haggling, conducted with amazing disregard for ordinary standards of morality, but with most exquisite politeness." There was consequently no class of chess-board politicians and professional diplomats.

As there were no such methods and no such class in the East, the ambassadors were selected from among the nobles and court officials, the selection being governed by certain broad principles - which have

---

(1) The Eastern and Western diplomacy have been linked from time immemorial. Hārūn-ur-Rashīd formed an alliance with Charlemagne against the Omyyads of Spain. (See Buckler's Caliph and Caesar) Ṭahmāsp formed an alliance against the Turks with Austria and Hungary. (See Dyer, Modern Europe, Vol.II.p.71. See also Afzal-ut-Twārīkh ff 148)
The Turks formed an alliance against Austria with France (See Von Hammer's article. Les premiers relations diplomatiques entre la France et la Porte, Journal asiatique, 1827 t.x. p. 23)
See also Don Jaun of Persia.

are referred to elsewhere and to which Nizām-ul-Mulk devotes a chapter.[1]

As to the desirability of diplomatic intercourse, most of the Muslim writers seek a spiritual justification for friendship between sovereigns as the chosen of God. Ambassadors were consequently regarded as a means of mutual enlightenment, by which the bonds of unity were strengthened and peace and good will cultivated for the happiness of mankind. It must not be assumed that this spiritual sphere was restricted to Muslim monarchs, but on the contrary "All kings who ruled by the will of Allah" were bound by ties of a common brotherhood.

The following remarks of Abu'l Fazl in this connection are interesting:-

"It is an old custom that powerful potentates should for the sake of gathering spiritual and temporal objects seek to associate with brother princes, and if owing to a God-given destiny, a connection has already been established, they should exert themselves to strengthen the pillars thereof."[2]

Shāh Ṭahmāsp's advice to Akbar on the subject is very significant and throws a good deal of light on

---

(1) Seyāsatnāma, Chapter XXI of the printed text, and XXII of the manuscript in the British Museum. (ADD 23516)

(2) Akbarnāma, II. page 262 (Trans)

the then prevailing notions of diplomatic relations. The Shāh says:- "Do not neglect to send messages and letters and to announce conditions, etc. as the relation of love demands."(1)

Ambassador's Status.

Owing to the notions of diplomatic intercourse described above an ambassador was regarded as the personal representative of the sovereign whom he represented and "whose reflected glory he shared",(2) as Nizām-ul-mulk says. "Everything done for them (ambassadors) is like doing it for their kings, and as the kings have always considered each other's dignity very high, so they have shown every respect to ambassadors and have thus maintained the dignity of this ancient office." It was customary when kings wrote to each other to include a few words of praise for their ambassadors. We find in 1586 Akbar writing to ʿAbdullah Khān in the following terms about Ḥakīm Hamām, his ambassador:- "From the beginning of his service he has been in close attendance on us, and we never had the thought of sending him away. Since such has been his relationship with us, that he has

---

(1) Jāmiʿ-i-Mukātabāt 110b. (Add 7688)

(2) Nodd's Diplomacy. page 31.

made suggestions to us without the intervention of anyone else, if similar treatment be accorded him in your noble audience, it will be as if we and you were conversing directly with one another."(1)

Writing to ʿAdil Shāh about Asad Beg, he says:- "When he speaks to you think as if you were hearing me."(2)

The dignity of the office was further enhanced by sending very high nobles, saints, sayyids, ʿulamā and even princes of the blood to foreign countries as ambassadors. The great esteem enjoyed by the Persian ambassadors at the Mughal court was due greatly to the precedent set by Akbar's magnificent reception of Prince Sayyid Beg Ṣafavī, the first Persian ambassador at his court.(3)

In Muslim countries a great deal of sanctity for an ambassador's person was due to the use of the word

---

(1) Mukatdbat-i-Alami, (2) Waqaiʿ Asad Beg

(3) The following remarks by Kerridge (in his letter to Sir Thomas Roe, ADD 9366 ff 12) are interesting "For if the kinge of Persia, who is the mightiest neighbour to this country, sent a prince of blood in embassage heather, he should allwayes stand and attend in the presence of the kinge as if he were his servant . . ." This opinion is however not borne out by facts as presented by the Indian and Persian historians.

rasul both for ambassador and prophet. This similarity of denomination led Sharif bin Mansur, Nizām-ul-mulk, ʿAli bin-ush-Shihāb and other Muslim writers on politics to quote passages from the Qurān about "the ambassadors of God" in relation to royal ambassadors and claim respect for them out of deference to their more exalted species.

The inviolability of their person may also be inferred from the severe chastisement meted out to sovereigns infringing the old established customs. Historians have not given due attention to the fact that the two great invasions - that of Khwarazm by Chīngīz,[1] and of Hungary by Sulaimān - were due to the insult offered to their ambassadors by Sulṭān Muḥammad and King Louis[2] respectively.

Jalāl-ud-din's letter[3] of reproach to Iltutmish on the subject is interesting and throws a good deal

---

(1) Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī, p. 272 (Trans.) says that the ambassadors of Chingiz were put to death by Qadr Khān on receiving orders from the Sultān and their goods were seized.

(2) Strangely enough Stanley Lane-Poole does not even refer to this incident and says:- "...to gratify the soldiers' love of war and booty Sulaimān resolved on a campaign of Hungary." Turkey, p.283. But Vambery in his History of Hungary describes the incident as a "dire offence against the laws of nations."

(3) See Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri, p.293 (footnotes), where the murder of Jalal-ud-din's ambassador is strongly condemned. For the letter see Abdur Razāq's Matla-i-Saʿdain wa Majma-i-Behram. (ADD 17,928)

of light on the political ethics of the time, which are embodied by Nizām-ul-Mulk in the following words:- "..if there is hostility between kings, and ambassadors come at such time, they should never be hurt or maltreated and the usual hospitality shown to them should not be reduced, for the Qurān says 'The ambassadors are the manifest promoters' (of peace)."

The Mughal Emperors usually treated the ambassadors with great respect and indulgence, even at a time when they were at war with the state from which they came. In 1649 when Prince Aurangzeb was busy laying siege to Qandahār, Shāh 'Abbās II sent Shāh Qulī to Kābul where Shahjahān was then staying. The Emperor appointed Ja'far Khān to entertain the ambassador and dismissed him with due honours and reward, but without giving him an audience.(1) The same may be said of the Ṣafavīs, for after Shāhjahān's occupation of Qandahār Ṣafdar Khān and Hussaini were dismissed with due honours by Shāh Safi I.(2)

The drowning of 'Abdul Mu'min's envoy in rather doubtful circumstances in the Jhelum during Akbar's time is the only possible blot on the otherwise clean

(1) Wāris. ff 463 (ADD 6556)

(2) Qiṣaṣ. ff 43.

slate in this respect of the Mughal Emperors.

It is surprising that this sanctity was, as a rule, strictly observed even when the ambassadors were bearers of insolent menaces, insulting letters, or other peculiarly Oriental manifestations of contempt. Thus, when Shaibānī sent to Īsmā'il a begging bowl and a staff with an insulting letter, in which Ismā'il was addressed as "the Master of Stables",[1] Īsmā'il did not vent his rage on the innocent ambassador but sent an equally insulting reply with some spindle.[2]

Types of Embassies.

Embassies in the East were usually what is known in Europe as "Embassies of Honour",[3] but political missions were not unknown. Hakīm Hamām's Embassy to Turān to form an alliance about the division of Persia, and Yādgār's to seek Akbar's help, were pre-eminently political. Many other such embassies, as the following pages will show, were sent out and received by the Mughals.

---

(1) See Rauzat-us-Ṣafavīyah. (OR 3388) ff 73a-74. The statement of Don Jaun of Persia, that Shāh 'Abbās had the beard of the Turkish ambassador shaved is not supported by historians.

(2) Abstract of Shaibānī's and Ismā'il's letters are given in 'Alī bin Nurā's Tarikh-i-Ismā'il. ff 177a and 178. (OR 3248)

(3) G. Murray's History of Diplomacy.

Qualifications of an Ambassador.

All the writers emphasise the principles which should govern the selection of an ambassador.[1] Adāb-ul-Mulūk says that an ambassador should be "of good voice, good face and of good mind". It also says that "he should preferably have been brought up in court associations; should be of mature age; should be a good sportsman, and must be gifted with a fine sense of repartee." Certain envoys of yore are held out as model ambassadors and little dialogues are reproduced to emphasise some of their ideal qualities. ʿAlī's ambassador to Mūʿāviya one Atarmāh entitled Akh-ul-khās is given as an example of boldness, fine speech and repartee. Mehtar Rashid the ambassador of Sultān Ibrāhim of Ghaznin to Sultān Malik Shāh Saljūqi is quoted as a model of liberality, good manners and tact in conducting negotiations. Nizām-ul-Mulk's embassy to the contemporary Khalīfa is another model embassy. Such examples, as the following pages will show, are not wanting among the ambassadors of the Mughals. One point on which the Mughal Emperors were particular, was the selection, usually, of persons belonging to the same sect as the sovereigns to whom they were sent, but there were some notable exceptions to this rule.[2]

---

(1) See in this connection the remarks of Aurangzeb given in ʿAlamgīrnāma, p. 628.

(2) Ambassadors to Persia were usually persons of Persian origin. Ambassadors to Trans-Oxiana were often bigoted sunnis, sayyids or ʿulemās.

Espionage.

The popular western conception that an ambassador is an "honourable spy" or "Le moins honorable des espions" as Frederick the Great preferred to style him, has also been prevalent in the east from time immemorial, but this too apparent quality was accepted with a certain amount of indulgence by sovereigns of Islamic countries. In fact a great deal of stress is laid on this aspect of his duties in Seyāsatnāma, Adāb-ul-Mulūk and Ahkām-ut-Sulṭāniya. We learn from Tabaqāt-i-nāsirī that Sultan Muhammad of Khwārazm sent Sayyid Bahā-ud-dīn Rāzī as ambassador to Chingīz Khān to "obtain authentic information about the forces of the Mughals".(1) We are further told that Chingīz though aware of the object of this mission received the ambassador well and dismissed him with due honours.

A number of ambassadors were sent by 'Abbās I to Jahāngīr shortly before the occupation of Qandahār obviously with the object of studying developments in India. Shāhjahān's second embassy to Persia may also be regarded as an organised espionage.(2)

Conception of Treaty Obligation among Muslims.

In Muslim countries theoretically speaking treaty obligations have been fully recognised in accordance

---

(1) Page 270 (Translation)

(2) In Mughal India there are many examples when this aspect of an envoy's mission was too apparent. Faizi's mission to the Deccan, as his letters to Akbar and Abul Fazl prove, was nothing else.

with the strong injunction of the Quran on this subject,[1] but instances are not wanting among Muslim sovereigns where, for selfish ends, treaties have been treated as mere scraps of paper, and the plighted words have been most shamefully broken. It may be said to the credit of the ʿArabs that considering the then confused notions prevailing on the subject they set an exemplary standard by scrupulously adhering to the treaties they entered into. Tabari reproduces certain treaties of which the principal were those granted by ʿAmr-ibn-al-ʿĀsi to the people of Egypt, the capitulation of Alexandria and the treaties granted by ʿOmar to the people of "Ilya" (Jerusalem) and Lyddā; these treaties were all agreed to, after prolonged negotiations between the representatives of the local population and the Amīrs of the Arab army. They have always served as models for Muslim kings entering into treaties with non-Muslims. Consequently we find all historians of Muslim India with the exception of bigoted Budāūnī and ʿAbbās Khān condemning Sher

(1) Al-Qurān, Chapter XVI. "And fulfill the covenant of Allah when you have made a covenant, and do not break the oaths after making them fast, and you have made Allah a surety for you. . . ." And in the following verse:- "And be not like her who unravels her yarn, disintegrating it into pieces after she has spun it strongly. You make your oaths to be means of deceit between you because (one) nation is more numerous than (another) nation. Allah only tries you by this . . ."

Shāh's treachery and breach of treaty with the Rājā of Kandīrī. The Mughal Emperors, ever conscious of their great prestige and good name, were outwardly very particular about their treaty obligations. Thus we find Akbar writing to ʿAbdullah Khān in the following terms:- "As the keeping of one's word is indispensable to great minds, we desired that when the treaty of peace had once been made it should be preserved."(1)

The treaties on behalf of the Mughal Emperors and their contemporaries, like the early Arab treaties described above, were given by one sovereign to the other. The European practice of affixing signatures to the same document was not usually followed.

The Privileges of Ambassadors.

In most of the Oriental countries the expenses of an ambassador and his suite were borne by the state to which he was sent, from the day he entered its boundaries.(2) Among the Mughals it was usual for the

---

(1) Mukatabāt-i-ʿAlāmī.
Jahāngir in his letter to Shāh Abbās after the loss of Qandahar wrote in almost similar tone; the letter has been more fully referred to in Book I. Chapter of this thesis.

(2) This was not confined to the East, for we find in the treaty of peace between Russia and Poland in 1672, in article ii. the following stipulation:- "Adventus ulriusque solennis legationis per praemissos praecursorer in anticessum, more consulto, demuncietus." As late as 1819 the Austrian Government paid the expenses of Mirzā Abu'l Hassan Khān, the Persian Minister to the Court of St. James, during his sojourn in its territories.

Governor of the frontier to get instructions from the Court; the ambassador was in the meantime treated with due honour till the arrival of the Mehmāndār,(1) from the capital, to take charge of him. His baggage was exempt from custom duties.(2)

The Persian ambassador usually stayed at Multan, the Turkish at Surat or Lahribandar and the Turanian at Kabul, until the arrival of instructions. But often the appointment of an ambassador was notified beforehand by a special courier or a fore-funner and everything was then in readiness before his arrival.

The Emperor was kept informed of his progress from stage to stage by swift messengers(3) and as soon as he reached the capital a royal residence was assigned for his use.(4)

Reception of an Ambassador.

We have long first-hand accounts by European travellers like Roe, Bernier, Du Jarric and others of the ceremonials observed at the Mughal Court on such occasions.(5) Du Jarric says that they were

---

(1) See also Elphinstone's 'Kingdom of Cabul', where the duties of a Mehmāndār are mentioned.
(2) Bernier tells us that this privilege was often abused, especially by the representatives of small states who imported large quantities of merchandise, but this was generally overlooked by the Mughal officials.
(3) See Lahauri II. p.218; Roe's Embassy, p.247.
(4) See Manucci, p.51, Vol II. This practice was common to other oriental countries. Ismāil I had the Turkish ambassadors lodged in the royal palaces of Āiwān-i-jahān-numā and Naqshijahan. See OR 3248, ff 112b.
(5) For an account of the reception see Akbarnama II p.217 (Persian), Padshahnama of Lahauri II p.204 (Turkish). ibid p.530 (Turanian).

received in the Diwān-i-khās, but there are instances when they were required to present their credentials in the Dewān-i-ʿĀm.[1] Very often an ambassador met the Emperor at some informal function before presenting his credentials.[2] The following account from Du Jarric in this connection is interesting:- "There were eight officers, men of experience and good judgment, who were in constant attendance on the Mughal Emperor. Amongst these he appointed the days of the week so that each had his special day for introducing those who desired an audience. It was his duty to examine the credentials of all such persons, and act as master of ceremony, more especially if they were foreigners, how to make reverence to the king, and how to comport themselves in his presence, for on these occasions much ceremony is observed. . ."

Apparently the officer described is Mīr-i-ʿArz. He might have introduced representatives of small states but we know special appointments were made for introducing the ambassadors of big powers and

---

(1) Budāq Beg was received in the Dewān-i-ʿĀm. Maāsir-i-ʿAlamgīrī. p.35.

(2) Ibid. p.32. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab II. p.126. Khān ʿĀlam was received by ʿAbbās I in the polo-ground. ʿĀlam-ārā-ʿAbbāsi, ff 367 (Add 16684)

usually very high officials were selected.

The ambassador after presenting his credentials(1) made a short speech to which the Emperor replied, and made public enquiries about the health and welfare of "his brother". After these interchanges of compliments a robe of honour was bestowed on the ambassador. All the proceedings were duly recorded by the court waqi'ah-navis.

Presents.

Usually the presents were displayed the next day, but sometimes an exception to this rule was allowed, to suit the ambassador's convenience. The presents were often carried by porters through the city, so that the public too got an opportunity of seeing them, but sometimes when the policy did not allow such popular demonstration these ceremonies were curtailed. This was as a rule followed by a state banquet. After this the ambassador was entertained by the ministers and nobles.

Ambassadorial Suite, etc.

An ambassador was well supplied with money for in the Mughal histories there are many records of big grants to the ambassadors designate. He took a well-equipped bodyguard with him. In the case of the ambassador to Persia the bodyguard varied from 500 to 1000 m

(1) It was the privilege of the Persian and Turkish ambassadors to hand personally to the Emperor their s ereign's letter. The Emperor on receiving it raise it to his head and then had its seals broken. Berni

(2) See Ma'āsir-ul-Umāra for the number of men who accom panied Khān 'Ālam to Persia. page 732

The following officers usually accompanied an embassy:-

(1) Waqi'ah-navīs

(2) Waqi'ah-nigār or Khufiah-navīs.*

(3) Tahvīldar.

(4) Mīr-i-Akh-ūr.

(5) Hakīm (Doctor).

(6) Mullā (Chaplain).(1)

If a political mission was combined with a mission of condolence, usually a nobleman was specially attached for this purpose, and his mission was strictly confined to this social formality.(2) Besides these officials a host of secretaries, courtiers of the King and relations(3) of the ambassador accompanied an embassy in hope of rewards and travel at state expense.

Special Ambassadors.

When an extra-ordinary ambassador was sent to a court in presence of one already there, the latter was usually instructed to act in close collaboration with

(1) See 'Alamgirnama, page 623.
(2) We find in 1591 when Akbar appointed Hakīm Hamām as ambassador to 'Abdullah, Sadr Jahān was specially sent with him to convey Akbar's condolences on Iskandar Khān's death.
(3) That most of the ambassador's in those times brought their relations is proved by the list of awards in the Mughal histories. Arslān Agha, the Turkish ambassador to Shāhjahān, brought his son Muhammad. 'Abdur Rahīm Khwāja, Imām Qulī's ambassador to Jahāngir brought his brother and son. There are many other such instances.

* Manucci tells us that Khufiah-navis and Waqi'ah nigār are the same. See Storia 11 p128

the former, and the scope of his mission was clearly defined.(1)

Return of an Ambassador.

On his return, an ambassador, if his mission had been successful, was suitably rewarded. There are many instances where his manseb was increased. Often a higher title was also bestowed on him. But he was sometimes degraded if his mission had been unsuccessful.

The Control of Foreign Office.

Some noble was usually in charge of the foreign office but this was in addition to his other duties as probably the work was not enough to engage the undivided attention of a minister. In Akbar's time Abu'l Fazl seems to have had the control of this department(2) for most of the letters to foreign kings were written by him - both on Akbar's behalf and on his own account. He also sent instructions to the Indian ambassadors abroad. Jahāngir in the eleventh year of his reign appointed Nur-ud-Din Quli exclusively to the duties of the Foreign Office. Bernier, however, is very definite

---

(1) Lahori I. p.266; when Hussain was sent to Persia when Safdar Khān was already there, the scope of Hussain's mission was clearly defined by Shāhjahān in his letter to the Shāh. For Shāhjahān's letter see Majmua-ul-Insha, ff 115b

(2) At a time it seems Hakīm Abul Fath was in charge of this department for he sent instructions to ambassadors abroad.

when he tells us that his "Aghā" Danishmand Khān was "exempted from the ancient ceremony of repairing to the court twice a day because of the time he necessarily devotes to the affairs of the Foreign department."[1]

When an ambassador brought some important proposals or sought to establish an alliance, then a council of Ministers was formed as the following remarks of Abu'l Fazl in connection with Yādgār Sulṭān's mission, show:- "The excuse-accepting sovereign was gracious to the envoy and held a Council on the question of furthering his designs. Some were of the opinion that he should send one of his sons with an army and take Khurasan from the Uzbegs and in this excellent way obtain the renown of a helper. As the ruler of Turān sent select men one after another and made strong the agreement of unity, the proposition was not accepted".[2]

---

(1) See Bernier's Travels, page 186 (1914 Ed)

(2) Akbarnāma.
This practice was quite general in the East at this time. About the same time when Yādgār came to India ʿAbbās also sent Pīr Ḥāji and ʿAlī Qulī Khān on a similar mission to ʿAbdullah; Ruzat-us-Safviyah (ff 267) says:- "When the Khān received the letter he called his nobles and ministers and delivered a speech about these matters to them and asked their opinion. Ministers and nobles like Jūn Muḥammad, Bāqi, Kul-bābā, Kokaltāsh and others took part in the discussion."

Diplomatic Correspondence

Most of the letters of the Mughal Emperors have fortunately been preserved in the Inshas of India, Persia and Turkey. The letters are in very extravagant language and the sense is buried under masses of rhetori[c] and "mellifluous elegancies of diplomatic phraseology". It is very difficult to find from them the object of any mission - as Von Hammer says:- "The prudence that guides the pens of oriental secretaries of state keeps within general phrases, so that the object of a mission can scarcely ever be guessed at by mere credentials." A good deal was left usually to be conveyed verbally. As the roads were often very unsafe, this method, first devised out of necessity, came to stay.

Effect of Public Opinion.

In Mughal diplomacy every obligation contracted on behalf of the Emperor by an ambassador was a <u>fait accompli</u>, even if unworthily carried out. Popular opinion hardly ever came in touch with the course of this diplomacy - except with its spectacular side, during the reception of a foreign ambassador, or of a fugitive king seeking asylum at the Mughal court. Instances are, however, not wanting when public opinion did compel the king to change his methods or even to abandon his old policy. Thus Bābur was compelled to abandon his alliance with Ismā'il against Uzbegs and had to carry the hopes of re-occupying the ancestral

lands unfulfilled to his grave.(1) Generally speaking the public, with the exception of the Umarā, was apathetic and incurious about the foreign relations of the Empire. In the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign the people of Delhi and some Umarāhs who were pro-Shāhjahān expected a Persian invasion to restore the old king, but this interest was momentary and soon passed away when Shah ʿAbbās sent the customary embassy.

In Islamic history there are many instances of sovereigns adopting subtle methods of false propaganda and Machiavellian tactics in order to win over public opinion(2) in support of their foreign policy. Ibn-ul-Athīr gives a very interesting example in the events of the year 38. Khalf bin Ahmad the ruler of Sistān desired to annexe Kirmān and only wanted an excuse for invading that country. As no other plausible excuse was forthcoming he sent a popular divine of Sistān on a friendly mission together with one of

---

(1) Historians otherwise very favourably disposed to Babur describe the battle of Ghazdewan as between the forces of Kufr and Islām. ʿAbdullahnāma, ff

(2) Sir Henry Rawlinson, sometime Her Majesty's Minister at Tehran, in giving evidence before the select committee on Diplomatic Service of 1870 said that there never has been anything like public opinion in Persia. Mr Watson in his history of the Kajars, however, says "never did a line of kings rule with more full consent of their subjects than did the Safavian Shāhs of Persia." p. 37.

his henchmen who had secret instructions to poison the ambassador soon after the banquet given in his honour by the ruler of Kirmān. After the deed Khalf's henchman accused the ruler of Kirmān and the outraged people of Sistān rallied to Khalf's standard to avenge the crime.

Position of India in International Affairs

A few words may be said here about the position of India under the Mughals in international politics of that time. A passing reference will have to be made to some events before the Mughals in order to appreciate the transition from mediaeval to modern times that the advent of Bābur marked.

From time immemorial the immense riches of India or the "invitation" as Abbe Guyon calls it, had dangled before the nations of the world. It lured many people of almost every nation(1) but before the thirteenth century only the nations of Central Asia and the Arabs could avail of it. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries India, unlike her less

---

(1) This desire of going to India is beautifully described by Sa'ib

ہمچو عزم سفر ہند کہ در ہر دل است   رقصِ سودائے تو در ہیچ سرے نیست کہ نیست

fortunate neighbours, was lucky to escape the horrors of Mongol deluge on any perceptible scale, fortunately for India it was flowing westward, where for a time it completely submerged the political and cultural power of Islām.(1)

The Mongol invasion of Muslim countries had unexpected repercussions over India, for it stemmed the tide of invasion from North West for over 150 years, besides the great cultural benefits that indirectly accrued to India from it.(2)

Though the Mongol invasion had far-reaching effects on the homeland of Arab civilization yet it had no direct effect on the sea power of the Arab merchants and communities around the Indian Ocean and they flourished undisturbed till the end of the fifteenth century, when a new competitor, as shall be explained, appeared on the scene and swept them away.

---

(1) Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī tells us of many small invasions in the time of Iltutmish. Barni also mentions many such invasions in the time of 'Alauddin Khalji, but they were ineffective and were often successfully repelled. Ibn Batuta says that he saw the following inscription on Tughlaks Mosque in Multan:- "Twenty-nine times I have fought the Tartars and defeated them and hence am I called Al-Malik-al-Ghazi." (Defremery III.202)

(2) Though the hosts of Chingīz Khān in their terrific inroad, destroyed the most important places of learning and massacred all learned men they could lay their hands on, yet many found refuge in India where they brought about a renaissance by giving great impetus to the study of art, medecine, law, literature and especially mysticism.

It must not be assumed that Persia and other Muslim countries under Tartar and Mongol dominion had not much diplomatic intercourse with India.(1)

The discovery of America followed by that of the sea route to India, entirely upset the old balance of power and the age-long struggle between the Cross and the Crescent assumed a totally new phase distinctly to the advantage of the former.

Within a few decades after the appearance of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean the maritime power of the Muslims received a blow from which it could never recover and the Arab ships almost disappeared from the Eastern seas.(2)

---

(1) Browne's remarks in this connection are very interestin and I may be pardoned in quoting them at some length :-

> "It is necessary to remind the reader who may be apt to think of far reaching international relations as in large measure a product of modern times and an outcome of facilities of communication, how considerable was intercourse at the time we are considering between Asiatic (not merely Muslim) states far removed from each other."

Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion P.37.

(2). See in this connection Whiteaway's "The Rise of Portuguese Power in India." P.3.

By a strange coincidence this period almost corresponded with the foundation of the Mughal Empire in India and the revival of Persian nationalism in the form of Shīʿa doctrines under the aggressive leadership of the Safavis, which was a sort of thin wedge driven into the Muslim body-politic and did so much "to undermine the unity and weaken the power of Islam."(1)

The appearance of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, the advent of Bābur in India and the rise of the Ṣafavīs, were all events of the greatest historical importance not only to Islām but to Europe as well.(2)

As we are reviewing these events from an Indian stand-point it will be true to say that from this time onward the history of India was no longer in a water-tight compartment and India began being increasingly

---

(1) Persian Literature in Modern Times, p. 69.

(2) The rise of the Persian power under the Safavis was very opportune to Europe and reacted very favourably on her struggle with the Turks. Busbecq, Ferdinand's ambassador at Constantinople, wrote:- "'Tis only the Persian stands between us and ruin. The Turk would fain be upon us but he keeps him back."
See Creasy, History of Ottoman Turks (1877) p.171, also Daniell's Life and Letters of Busbecq, Vol.I. p.221. The following remarks of Browne about the Safavi power are interesting:- "It marks not only the re-creation of the Persian nationality after an eclipse of more than eight centuries and a half, but the entrance of Persia into the comity of nations and the genesis of political relations which still to a considerable extent hold good."

connected with outside events. For the first time in her chequered history, India beheld something like a stable Empire with a strong Central Government, whose position in international affairs began to be felt. Before leaving this subject reference must be made to a great handicap which prevented the Mughal empire from being as effective a factor in international affairs, as its great extent and the vastness of its resources warranted. This was the total absence of an effective navy. So ridiculous was its position in this respect that even for suppressing pirates and protecting its shores it had to seek the help of various European navies which, at different times, commanded the coast of India,[1] but unfortunately the great importance of a strong navy to an empire with a vulnerable sea frontier of nearly a thousand miles was never realised.

---

(1) Shihabuddin Talish (Bodleian MS.589) gives a graphic description of their helplessness against the pirates of Chatagaon and the Kingdom of Arracon, who devastated every year the whole of the South Eastern Bengal, carrying away thousands of men and women into slavery and immense booty. Many unsuccessful attempts were made by the Mughal governors till Shaista Khān succeeded in winning over the Feringi pirates by bribe and promise of reward and succeeded with their co-operation in destroying this hornets' nest.

The Relation of the Mughal Empire with other Muslim Countries.

Bābur brought to India the unfulfilled ambition of conquering his ancestral lands, and this ambition fired the imagination of all his descendants and loomed large in the course of their foreign policy. This desire to possess Mavara-un-Nahr also brought them in line with the course of Persian diplomacy and frustrated the attempts of the Ottoman Sultāns to draw them into a religious alliance of Sunni powers against Persia. It also estranged them from the khāns of Mavara-un-Nahr, who, afraid of an invasion from India, usually exploited the religious tolerance of the Mughal emperors and their "deviation from the path of orthodoxy" by extensive propaganda among the tribes of the North West frontier of India, and thus tried to maintain a semi-independent and discontented zone between them and India. The additional fear of Indo-Persian co-operation in case of an attack drew them into closer alliance with the Ottoman sultans.

The Ottoman sultans on their side tried in vain many a time to break the Indo-Persian friendship and to form a triple alliance against the Qizilbāshs. Though for a time the Mughal emperors played with this idea, in the end the desire to possess the ancestral lands proved stronger. A notable example of this temporary attitude is furnished in Akbar's treaty with Abdullah Khān Usbeg about the division of Persia,

very much on the lines of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. This treaty also for the first time established a definite boundary line between India and Turan. Before this treaty the Mughal emperors had considerable influence north of Hindū-koh, but after Abdullah's conquest of Badakhshān their influence was restricted only to the south of this mountain of which most of the passes were controlled by the Usbegs; this made an effective government in Afghanistan almost impossible and that country could not enjoy the same measure of peace, security and progress as the rest of India under the Mughals.

Relations with Persia

The relations of the Mughal Empire with Persia were usually very friendly[(1)] and were more or less on a permanent basis. It is true that there was often misunderstanding and friction about Qandahār[(2)] and the attitude of the Mughal emperors towards the Shiaʿ states

(1) ʿAbbās the Great gave expression to this feeling of friendship in the following couplet:-
"Between us and you there cannot be trouble,
There can be naught but love and trust."

(2) About Qandahār Mr Longworth Dames says:- ". . . Kandahar sometime belonged to the one and sometime to the other . . ." and again ". . . In Kandahar province the frequent changes of government between India and Persia fomented dissension and intrigue . . ." p. 168. Ency. of Islam.

of the Deccan was not acceptable to their Persian allies, but on the whole, it can be safely said, the relations of the two Empires were quite cordial. This friendship was also due to the memory of Bābur's alliance with Ismail and Tahmasp's help to Humāyun. Besides most of the Tīmūrides, though apparently Sunnis, had a soft corner in their heart for the Shiaʿ doctrines(1) and consequently they had no religious objection to be closely allied to Persia, unlike other Sunni powers.

The Persian influence at the court of Delhi was also very considerable for the Mughals were famous for their patronage of art, literature and learning, and attracted many artists, poets and scholars driven from Persia by a lack of patronage and the narrow fanaticism of the Safavis which discouraged "everything connected with the Accomplishment (as opposed to the Legalities).(2)

---

(1) Many Timurides openly professed Shiaʿ doctrines. A notable example is that of Sultan Hussain of Herāt who "endeavoured to replace the Sunni by the Shiaʿ doctrines." (Persian Lit. in Modern Times.)

(2) Persian Lit. in Modern Times. p. 26. In this connection the following couplet of ʿAlī Qulī Salīm a poet of Safavi period is interesting:-

نیست در ایران زمین سامانِ تحصیل کمال   تا نیامد سوئے ہندستان حنا رنگین نشد

Persia also supplied many brilliant statesmen and administrators at the Mughal court. Hakīm Abul Fath the talented foreign minister of Akbar, Āsaf Khān the prime minister of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān, ʿAlī Mardān and Amīr Khān the two famous wardens of the Marches, Ruhullah Khān the able finance minister of Aurangzeb, and many other notables of Mughal India came from Persia. It is probable that some of these were driven by the religious persecution of the Safavis.

The Mughal emperors were also bound to the Safavis by the ties of marriage.(1)

It must not be assumed that there was no friction; on the contrary their mutual jealousies caused considerable bad blood and even at times open hostility, but generally speaking the relations continued to be friendly till ʿAbbās II and Aurangzeb severed them.

Only with Persia and Turkey the Mughal emperors maintained relations on a footing of equality.(2) Their attitude to the rulers of Turan was not the same, only

---

(1) Many Ṣafavī princesses were married to Mughal princes. Jauhar speaks of Humāyūn's betrothal to a daughter of Maʿsum Beg. (See Stewart. 75). There are two very interesting letters in Jamiʿa-i-Inshā (Add 7688):- (i) "Letter of Bilqis Makāni Miriam Begum to her mother in Persia". ff 127. (ii) "To her sister Zeynab Begum" ff 127b. Akbarnamā III 1251, (Trans) says that Mir Maʿsum Bukhari returned from Persia with a letter from Shāh's aunt to Miriam Makāni. I had no time to investigate this matter fully but Brown mentions one "Zeynab" among the daughters of Shāh Ismāʿil I. (Pers, Lit. in Modern Times. p. 81, footnote 2.) The daughter of Muzaffar Husain Mirzā was married to Shāhjahān. Two daughters of his brother Rustam Safavi were married to Parwiz and Shujā (See Maʾāsir-ul-Umara III. p.296, 434); the daughter of Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafavī was married to Aurangzeb. (ibid. vol II. 670.)

(2) It is true that the Mughal emperors considered themselves as the greatest sovereigns in the world, but the rulers of Turkey and Persia were addressed as equals. Sir Thomas Roe's remarks that ". . . Neyther will this overgrown elephant descend to article or bynde himself reciprocally to any Prince on terms of equality", though true in a way, were probably the result of Roe's disappointed frame of mind.

They had also sporadic relations with the smaller states of Central Asia[1] and Arabia[2] and sometimes received envoys from Abyssinia,[3] Tibet,[4] Barbary, the Sherīf of Mecca and some European powers.[5]

---

(1) In Mughal histories smaller states like Kashghar, Urganj, and Shaharnau are mentioned by their name while Trans-Oxiana and Bukhārā are spoken of sometimes as Turan, sometimes as Māvarā-un-Nahr.
(2) Yaman, see Bernier 133, ʿĀlamgīrnāma 886, Naima ; Hadramut, ʿAlamgīrnāma 883, 886, Maāsir-i-ʿĀlamgiri 350.
(3) Bernier 134-144, Manucci considers the ambassadors as impostors, storia ii. p. 110-114, Maasir 108 (Second Embassy)
(4) Bernier
(5) The English, Dutch, Portuguese and some other European powers sent them envoys. Charles II when in exile sent Viscount Bellomont to ask for their aid against Cromwell. See Storia I. p.59.

BOOK I.

Relations with Persia.

"Summon to the feast
The envoy of the Iranian king, the man
Of fluent utterance and novel aims,
Bring his companions too and seat them where
Ambassadors are placed."

Shāhnāma.

CHAPTER I.

The Mughal Emperors of India had an exaggerated consciousness of their importance as the direct descendants of Tīmūr. They had a pleasant way of referring to his short-lived Empire or even his less permanent conquests as their legal patrimony. By this argument they justified their costly expeditions to Central Asia, and Bābur's conquest of India. Even Persia and Turkey were considered by them to be under their moral obligation for the "generosity" of Tīmūr to Sulṭān Khwāja ʿAlī Siāhposh[1] and Musā.[2] On the other hand, the sovereigns of the Ṣafavī dynasty always thought they had a lien over the whole of India, by reason of the help rendered by Ṭahmāsp to Humāyūn. These two mental attitudes are reflected throughout their diplomatic relations and were often the

---

[1] A reference to Sulṭān Khwāja ʿAlī's interview with Timur has been made by many historians. Strangely enough Sir Percy Sykes says that the interview took place between Tīmūr and Ṣadr-uddin. Muḥammad ʿAlī bin Nūrā in his History of Ismāʿīl (Or 3248) described the interview on ff.13, and release of Turkish prisoners on ff. 16. See also Mirat-us-Safā (Add 6539) ff.144. It is more surprising that Browne's remarks (Pers: Lit: in Modern Times, p.46) should have escaped Sykes (Page 158, Vol.II, 1930) who followed Malcolm.

[2] Their attitude towards Turkey has been described at some detail in another chapter. In this connection see Tīmūr's correspondence with Bāyazīd ~~and Timur~~ Munshaʾāt-i-Salāṭīn Vol.I, p.118-140; Muḥammad I and Shāhrukh ibid. 141-152.

cause of considerable unpleasantness and friction between the otherwise two very friendly houses.

The diplomatic relations were first established by Ismāʿīl I who, after the conquest of Merv and the death of Shaibānī Khān,[1] treated Bābur's sister Khānzāda Begum[2] - one of the captives - with great respect and sent her along with his ambassador to her brother. Bābur received the embassy at Qūndūz - where he had come at the invitation of Khān Mirzā, and he in return sent an embassy to thank the Shāh.[3] This led to further relations, and we learn from Rauzatus-Safviyah that on one occasion Najam Sānī was sent to negotiate an alliance against the Uzbegs. The terms of this alliance are nowhere given, but if the apparently biased account of Mirzā Iskandar Munshī is to be accepted, Bābur had the Khutba read in the Shāh's name,

---

1 The War with Shaybānī was due in a way to a diplomatic incident. He was very insulting to Ismāʿīl's ambassadors Shaikh Mohyuddin and Qazi Ziāuddīn and sent an insulting letter threatening invasion of Persia. Ismāʿīl is addressed as "اسمعیل داروغه" pp. 177a and 178, Or 3248.

2 See Bābur's Memoirs pp.14, 15. Tārikh-i-Rashīdī (p.175, 186) tells us that she was married to Shaibānī, according to a clause in his treaty with Bābur. Some authorities also tell us that she was subsequently divorced by him for her partiality towards her brother and later married one Syyid Hādī; if so, I believe he is ʿAbdul Hādī whose death is mentioned in Br: Mus.Ms. Or 3248, during Ismāʿīl's attack on Merv. ʿAbdullahnāma says that she was "bestowed on a noble sayyid after being divorced by the Khān." ff.33.

3 Khān Mirzā was sent, says Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī "with protestation of submission." p.239 (Trans.) See also Erskine p.307 and 308, Vol.I.

and his soldiers wore the red caps.[1] With Ismāil's help Bābur succeeded for a short time in reoccupying his ancestral lands.

I have referred to the unpopularity of this alliance in my first chapter, but it may be here pointed out that it was Ismāil's desire to have a friendly power in Trans-Oxiana, strong enough to keep the lawless Usbegs under control, while accepting with complacency the loss of Khorasan. Ismāil also wanted Bābur to devote all his energies to the North, for he had his own designs on the Southern Afghānistān and possibly India.

After the Battle of Ghazhdewān[2] the Persian influence in the Central Asia received a definite check, and Bābur had to give up all hopes of conquest in the north and turned his attention once more to Qandahār[3] and the kingdoms of the Arghūns. This did not meet with

---

[1] According to Abul Fazl, Ferishta, Khāfi Khān and other Indian historians, both the Khutba and coins were in Bābur's name.
'Abdullahnama supports Iskandar and attributed the hostility of the people of Trans-Oxiana to Bābur's regime to the introduction of shia dress and manners, ff. 33b.

[2] Tārikh-i-Rashīdi (Trans.) p.281; 'Abdullahnama ff. 34b. 'Abdullahnama describes the battle as between the forces of "Kufr and Islam."

[3] For Qandahār and Bābur see page 355, Erskine and ff.109. Tārikh-i Sindh and D'Ohsson's Histoire des Mongols.

Ismāil's approval, and diplomatic relations were not maintained for a long time.[1]

Ismāil, like all his descendants, considered the Indus as the natural boundary between India and Persia in the east, and the Euphrates between Persia and Turkey in the west; Persia to them meant the whole of the vast empire of Darius, but Darius had no one half so grim as Salīm to reckon with. Bābur thus obtained a free hand to consolidate his position in Southern Afghānistān,[2] and eventually to conquer India. Bābur's attitude towards the Persians is very clearly stated in his letter to Mirzā Kāmrān, in which he makes no secret of his dislike of the Persians, their religion and manners. Tahmāsp, however, sent an embassy to congratulate Bābur on

935 A.H. the conquest of India, and we learn that Yūnus Alī was appointed to entertain the ambassador.[4]

---

[1] Ismāil even attempted to occupy Qandahār IV; many attempts were made, the most famous being the one made by his General, Shāh Rukh Beg Afshār, f.94 (Or. 3248)

[2] See Rush: Williams pp.117-119.

[3] J.A.S.B., 1920, p.329; letter discovered by Prof. Julius von Klaproth.

[4] The ambassadors, it is stated, brought many presents which included two fine Caucassian slaves for Babur's harem. See Baburnama (Bev.) p.631, also Bābur's memoirs p.346, Erskine I. p.457.

After Bābur's death[1] Ṭahmāsp made several attempts on Qandahar, especially the one made in 941 A.H. by Sām Mirzā is quite well known.[2] These repeated[3] attempts caused ill-feeling on both sides and there was no diplomatic intercourse till after Humāyūn's visit to Persia.[4] It is well known that the Shāh's help was bought with the promise to surrender Qandahār after its conquest. So great was the importance of this fortress in the eyes of the Shāh that he appointed his infant son at the head of the army of occupation. Humāyūn made it over to Budāgh Khān,[5] although the Shāh's son had died during the operations, but treacherously reoccupied it at the instigation of Bairam Khān and other nobles, who

---

1 For the effect of Bābur's death on the Persian policy, see ff 146b Rauzat-us-Ṣafaviyah

2 Badāūnī, however, gives 942 "زده پادشاه کامران سام را" both Afzal-ut-Twarikh and Aḥsan-ut-Twārīkh give 941 A.H. as the date of attack.

3 After Sām Mirzā's attempt in 941, Murād Sulṭān Afshār made another attempt, Afzal-ut-twarikh ff 84; another attempt was made a few years later, ibid ff 95. Yet another attempt is described in Rauzat-us-Ṣafaviyah ff 173b.

4 For Humāyūn's visit see ibid ff 183b (arrival) 185b (reception) 190 (departure).

5 For Humāyūn's occupation see Afzal-ut-Twarikh ff 125; Edwardes wrongly states that the Shāh's son died after the occupation of Qandahār by the Persians.

argued that it was impossible to carry on operations against Kāmrān without a proper base.[1] Abul Fazl and Badāūnī both give some lame excuses for this 'breach of promise' and 'ingratitude', but Humāyūn like Matternich must have thought that "there is no greater mistake than gratitude in politics." Aḥsan-ut-Twārīkh, however, describes it as a breach of the law of nations, and this is one of the few references to the law of nations I have come across in Persian manuscripts.

Embassy of Khwajā Ghāzī

The slaughter of the Qizilbāshs by the local sunni population further estranged the feelings between the two sovereigns; consequently Khwājā Ghāzī was sent to apologise and explain the real situation,[2] but it seems his mission was partly successful, as is proved by the account of the following embassy. although Abul Fazl says that Mirza was promoted on his return from Persia for good services.[3]

---

1 It is alleged that Humāyūn held a Council of Nobles when this decision was arrived at. ibid ff 126. Humāyūn wrote to the Shāh "As Budāgh Khān Kājār has acted contrary to the royal order, I have taken over the fort from him and given it to Bairam Khān, who is one of your subjects, consequently consider it under your control." Akbarnāma I p.288 (Nawal-kishore).

2 For the account and object of his mission see Afzal-ut-twarikh ff: 161b.

3 Akbarnāma I p.400 (Nawal-kishore).

Embassy of Qazi Zainuddin Shaikh-ali.

This is another embassy[1] which is not mentioned by any Indian historian, though references to it are found in the two manuscript histories of the reign of Ṭahmāsp. This mission must have been sent to carry on further negotiations and to induce the Shāh to wait will Humāyūn had sufficiently consolidated his position to fulfil his promise, for he could hardly afford at this time an attack from that quarter. This embassy is interesting from the point of view of the diplomacy of this period, for it proves the practice of sovereigns sending two separate sets of letters to each other, one official and the other private.[2]

Embassy of Walid Beg

Soon after the conquest of Kābul[3] the Shāh sent an embassy of congratulation, at the same time asking for the return of Qandahār, but the embassy was dismissed with empty promises. It is probable that Bairam Khān who was holding Qandahār as his jāgīr was responsible for this attitude of Humāyūn.

---

1 For an account of this embassy see Afzal-ut-Twarikh ff 1

2 On ff 162 (ibid) a copy of a small letter penned by Ṭahmāsp himself is given. It is refreshingly simple and informal, and throws a good deal of light on Shāh's character. A couplet of the Shāh's own composition is also given. It cannot be claimed that it is good poetry but it is very amusing.

3 Rūẓat-us-Ṣafvīyah, however, alleges that Kabul, too, was conquered by the help of the Persians. It says "After the conquest of Qandahār the Qizilbāsh army under Bairam Beg Bahārlū left for the conquest of Kābul, Ghaznin, etc." ff. 191b.

The Shāh was very disappointed and did not send any more embassies till after Humāyūn's death, when he sent an ambassador to Akbar on his ascent to the throne and to tender the Shāh's condolence on the death of his father.[1] As no mention of this embassy is to be found in any Indian history, it must have been an informal embassy, for officially these messages were conveyed a few years later by Prince Sayyid Beg Ṣafavī.

This ambassador probably carried back news of the disturbed state of India, for on his return the Shāh started preparations to attack Qandahār. A ready excuse was furnished by the rebellion of Bahādur Khān, the Mughal governor of Zamindāwar, who, as is apparent from Persian histories, was at first in league with the Shāh but when he refused to surrender Zamindāwar to the troops sent by the Shāh, the Shāh turned against him.[2]

---

1 Afzal-ut-twārīkh says "At this time H.M. became aware of the death of Gurgāni pādshāh and sent an eloquent ambassador for condolence and congratulation to his son Jalāluddīn Akbar." ff.208.

2 Afzal-ut-twārīkh says "Bahādur Khān approached the Shāh for help. The Shāh ordered Sulṭān Husain Mirzā s/o Bahrām Mirzā Qulī Khalīfa Shāmlū, Allah Qulī Beg Afshār etc. etc. to proceed with troops. He also sent firmans to Sulṭān Khudābanda, the governor of Khorāsān and Muḥammad Khān Taklu, governor of Herāt, to help them. He also ordered Bahādur Khān to hand over Zamindāwar to the his (Shāh's) servants." ff.209.

Shortly after Bahādur Khān attacked Qandahār and Shāh Muhammad Kilāti had no other alternative than to ask the Shāh for the co-operation of the troops sent in the beginning to help Bahādur Khān "as the help from India was a remote possibility."[1] The Shāh sent ʿAliyār Beg Afshār with 3,000 turkomans to help Shāh Muḥammad. ʿAliyār suddenly fell on the rear of Bahādur and completely routed him; but Shāh Muḥammad now made excuses for not surrendering the fort.[2] The Shāh incensed at this constant bickering decided on an open attack under the command of Walī Khalīfā Shāmlū and Sultān Hussain Mirzā but the attack failed. Another under ʿAlī Sultān Shāmlū was more successful and the fort surrendered after a prolonged siege.[3] The success was followed by the occupation of Zamindāwar.[4] The Persian and Indian authorities are very much at variance as to the causes which led to Shāh Muḥammad's surrender. Abul Fazl attributes it to the command of Akbar who, it is alleged, "did not want to fight a friend"[5] and lauds "the

---

1 See Akbarnāma II. p.65.

2 A complete account of these events is also to be found in Aḥsan-ut-twārīkh, ff. 151.

3 Aḥsan-ut-twārīkh ff.153.

4 ibid ff. 154.

5 Akbarnāma II. (Trans.) p.98.

gentleness and humanity which were here displayed to such a high degree, and the observance of adherence to obligations which were so conspicuous," but it is possible that this recognition was a little late and compulsory. The Persians, however, are emphatic about the success of their arms and attribute the surrender to the helplessness of Shāh Muhammad.[1] The truth probably is between the two versions; Akbar being busy at this time near Gwalior was unable to send a relieving force immediately, and left the question of surrender to the discretion of the local governor who, thinking it impossible to hold out very long surrendered on the pretence of having received instruction from the Emperor. This suited the Persian King very well for he gratefully acknowledged the un-offered and in fact wrested gift from his "dutiful son." [2]

The Embassy of Shāh Ghāzī

An ambassador was sent soon after the fall of Qandahār to Persia. No direct reference of this embassy is made by any Indian historian, except a reference to it is to be found in the Shāh's letter to Akbar which is reproduced in Akbarnāma. This Shāh Ghāzī is probably Khwāja Ghāzī

---

[1] Afzal-ut-twārīkh ff. 223.

[2] In the firman bestowing the Governorship of Qandahār on his nephew Sulṭān Hussain Mirzā. The copy of the firman is given in Afzal ff. 224.

of the previous embassy.[1]

Embassy of Prince Sayyid Bed.

In 1563 A.D. arrived the historic embassy of Prince Sayyid Beg Safavi,[2] son of the famous prime-minister Maʿsum Beg Safavi, and a cousin of the Shāh, with choice gifts such as "firy horses from ʿIraq and Turkey, delicate cloth and wonderful curiosities." The object of the embassy was to offer condolence on the death of Humāyūn and to congratulate Akbar. As this was an unprecedented honour, for rarely were princes of the blood sent on such political missions, Akbar ordered special arrangements to be made for the ambassador's reception and entertainme[nt] Fourteen Lākhs dams and many other gifts were bestowed upon him. It must have gratified the vanity of even a king like Akbar to see a Persian royal prince performing "kornish" and laying the Shāh's letter on "the edge of the throne."

1
Mr. Beveridge thinks he is Ghāzi Khān Badakhshani, but I think he is Shāh Ghāzi Tabrizi mentioned by Badāūni (Page 288, text ii, Low 233). A persian and a shia were more likely to have been employed, as I have explained in my first chapter. That Shāh Ghāzi was a great favourite with the Shāh is proved by his letter to Akbar. Tahmāsp whose religious intolerance was well known, would not have bestowed so many signs of his favour on a sunni.

2
For the account of this embassy see Akbar II. p.217 (trans. p.262).

The letter[1] starts with the usual page and a half of greetings, compliments and prayers. It apologises for the delay in sending the embassy and a few sentences in praise of Shāh Ghāzī are inserted. But the most important part is the veiled hint about an alliance in the following words "......... and may consolidate the foundation of hereditary love and friendship, so that henceforth the revolutionary hand of time may not reach the edge thereof, nor fear of rift, or rupture enter the heart core of any creature." Akbar's friendship was very necessary to Tahmāsp at this time for on the north of Persia a new power fanatically sunnite and anti-Persia was rising under the greatest of the Shaibānid s, and was also very friendly with the Turks. The letter closes with a fervent hope and advice which puts the eastern diplomacy in a nut-shell "do not neglect to send messages and letters and to announce events, conditions, etc. etc. as the relation of love demands."

The second Embassy from Tahmasp 1565.

Another embassy from Persia is mentioned in the events of the ninth year,[2] but nothing is known to distinguish it from the usual courtesy missions sent from

---

1 For the letter see Jamiʿ-i-Marāsilāt ff.110. This letter has been translated by Mr. Beveridge with the exception of a few sentences, but their exception may be due to the use of a different copy. The letter is an exquisite example of the Persian Insha of the XVI Century, but Mr. Beveridge thinks it to be pompous, rhetorical, etc.

2 Akbarnāma II, p.357 (Trans.358)

time to time as stated above, to announce events etc., except that the Shāh recommended Sultān Muhammad of Bakhar for the office of Khān Khānān, a request which was respectfully declined. Abul Fazl alleges that the Shāh being bankrupt at this time got much gold from Shāh Muhammad.

Embassy from Sultān Khudabanda.

Sultān Khudabanda, the governor of Khurāsān, sent Yār 'Alī Beg as his envoy to Akbar.[1] The object of this embassy is nowhere given, but like Shāhjahān's embassies to 'Abbās and Dārā Shikoh's to Turkey, it came for a future contingency. Khudābanda, no doubt, realising his hopeless position, tried to secure Akbar's support during the coming war of succession, which then seemed inevitable owing to Peri Khanum's intrigues. In a way the mission was successful, for when the guardians of 'Abbās sent Murshid Tabrīzī[2] to seek Akbar's help against Khudābanda, Akbar not only refused help, but Abul Fazl says "The just Shāhinshāh did not regard him as worthy of an answer, he remarked how could he assist one who contended with his visible god." (father)

Embassy from 'Abbas.

---

1 Akbarnāma III, p. 8, see Elliot V. Page 342 also.

2 Akbarnāma III, p. 893 (Trans.)

The Embassy of Yadgar Sultan Shamlu

In 1591 came the first embassy from Shāh Ābbās. Unlike other missions, this was pre-eminently political in its object, for it came to seek Akbar's help against ʿAbdullah Khān Usbeg, who profiting from the Civil War in Persia, had occupied Khurāsān. The Shāh was probably aware of ʿAbdullah's alliance with Akbar about Qandahār and Herat. ʿAbdullah Khān, on the other hand, getting wind of the Shāh's intentions, despatched Aḥmad Ālī Ataliq who reached India in 1591, a little later than Yadgār. ʿAbdullah's alliance with Akbar has been more fully discussed in another chapter, but it may be here pointed out that ʿAbdullah's designs would have met with greater success had not Akbar too, like all the sovereigns of his race, dreamt of conquering Trans-Oxiana.

As Akbar had not as yet made any move openly against Qandahar, the Shāh was encouraged to send Yadgar Sultan who is described by Abul Fazl as "old in years but of fresh wisdom." I cannot do better than quote Abul Fazl at some length about Akbar's deliberation on receiving this embassy:- "The excuse accepting Sovereign was gracious to the envoy and held a council about furthering his designs. Some were of the opinion that he should send one of his sons with an army and take Khurāsān from the Usbegs and in excellent way obtain the renown of a helpe

As the ruler of Turān had sent select men one after another, and made strong the agreement of unity, the proposition was not accepted. His Majesty said it was proper in the first place to try advice. Perhaps there would be no contest."

But in spite of these professions of sincerity and goodwill towards Persia, Akbar was all along intriguing with the Mirzas of Qandahar through Sharīf Khān Ataka, th Governor of Ghaznin. The Mirzás, too, were probably aw of Akbar's arrangement with ʿAbdullah and had no other alternative except to bow to the inevitable. The very absence of an Usbeg attack after the Conquest of Herāt must have convinced them about this arrangement.

Soon after the arrival of the Persian ambassador, Mehtar Ibrāhim brought the petition of Rustam Mirzā. Akbar showed great kindness to him and sent Mirak Jalīr to bring the Mirzā to the Court, and an order was issued to all governors of provinces to show the courtesy due to royalty when the Mirzā came to the Court. Hakim ʿAinul-Mulk Badāunī's great friend was sent almost to the border of the Empire to receive Rustam Mirzā. The Khān Khānān and Zain Khān went out 12 kos to receive him. At the time of his audience Akbar conferred a mansab of 5,000 with Multān as fief and one kror (dams) on him.

Mirza Muzaffar

This generous treatment encouraged Muzaffar Husain who sent his mother and eldest son Bahrām Mirzā "to beg quarters." Akbar sent Qarā Beg and Mirzā Beg to bring Muzaffar to the Court. Qarā was probably selected becaus of his old associations with the Safavī dynasty.[1]

The occupation of Qandahār and Zamindāwar, though resented by the Shāh, did not lead to a breach of diplomatic relations as the Mirzas were more or less independent after Ṭahmāsp's death and, by ʿAbdullah's occupation of Herat, they were cut off from the rest of Persia. Although Akbar talked a great deal about helping the Shāh, yet he never raised a finger to do anything and dismissed Yādgār Sultān after four years wit empty promises and false hopes.

Embassy of Zain-ul-mulk 1002 A.H.

Zainul-mulk was sent with Yādgār in 1594 with a letter to the Shāh and Abu Nasīr as the custodian of presents.[2] They travelled by sea via Bandar Lahari for the obvious reason that the land routes were in possessio of the Uzbegs. In a long letter full of advice to the young Shāh, Akbar dwells a great deal on his own achievements, especially the suppression of "the wicked

---

[1] The arrival of Muzaffar is fully described by the fathe of the third mission, see:- Akbar and Jesuits, p.64. For the history of this branch of the Safavīs see ʿAlam-arāi-ʿAbbāsi (Add 16684) ff.174 "Account of the descendants of Sultan Mirzā s/o Bahrām Mirzā." See also Badāunī II, p.402 (Low).

[2] Akbarnāma III. 656 (Trans. 1007).

Baluchis and other desert dwellers" who are described as "thorns in the path of Persian travellers." The delay in sending the customary embassy is attributed to the "confusion in Persia." A very interesting and artful excuse for the annexation of Qandahār is furnished in the following words:- "As the Mirzās there showed slackness in assisting the sublime dynasty (Ṣafavis) and on the occurrence of accidents and misfortune which is the time for testing the jewels of fidelity, they did not at all show marks of concord and unanimity, nor did they repair to our sublime asylum, which is the native land of the masters of delight and ease. It therefore occurred to us that we should in the first place make over Qandahār to our people." It further says that the occupation of Qandahar was only undertaken to facilitate help to "that darling of sultanate."(ʿAbbās). In the end he says a few words about his ambassador and adds "we have confided to him some loving expressions which he will communicate to you in private." [1]

Akbar was reluctant to take sides in spite of his treaty with ʿAbdullah, because Qandahār had lost most of

---

1 The letter is very long and full of diplomatic vagueness, especially with regard to Akbar's relations with ʿAbdullah. For the letter see Jamiai-Marāsilāt ff. 205.

its trade and revenue by the Uzbeg occupation of Herāt and Khurāsān. He was also afraid of the growing power of Turan. The Turānis could be expected to respect the treaty during ʿAbdullah's lifetime, but ʿAbdul Muʾmin had more than once shown his hostility towards Akbar and it was difficult to trust him.

The Embassy of Murnuchir Beg.

The reception of ʿAinul-mulk is described in a very exaggerated tone by Abuʾl Fazl[1] and the story of the slipper seems to be a result of his imagination. In 1598 ʿAbbās in return sent Murnuchihr Beg - who later on distinguished himself in Dāghistān campaign.[2] Among the Shāh's presents were 101 choice Gilān horses, 300 pieces of brocade and fifty masterpieces of Ghiās Naqshband.[3] The Shah in acknowledging Akbar's letter, thanked him for his advice and offer of help and spoke a great deal of the preparations he was making for attacking Khurāsān and again sought Akbar's cooperation and help.[4]

Embassy of Ali Beg Yuzbashi 1599.

With the death of ʿAbdullah and ʿAbdul Muʾmin the civil war in Turan completely altered the situation and

---

1 Akbarnāma III.

2 Jalāl Munjam's history ff.249.

3 For other works of Ghiās Naqshband see the Persian Exhibition Catalogue. I am indebted to Sir Dennison Ross who pointed out the historical significance of this piece of information.

4 For the letter see Jāmiʿ-i-Marāsilāt ff. 206b.

the Shāh occupied the whole of Khurāsān without Akbar's help. He sent ʿAlī Beg Yuzbāshi to Akbar with a letter,[1] in which he congratulated Akbar on the success of his son (Abbas), which the Shah attributes to his (Akbar's) blessing, and friendship for his home (Safavīs).

The Embassy of Mir Muhammad Maasum Bukhari.

Akbar in return sent Mīr Muhammad Ma'sum Bukhārī with a congratulatory letter.[2] The object of this mission can be gathered from the following remarks of Abul Fazl:- "The intention of the Shāhinshāh was to send the victorious troops under the command of the Prince Royal to Turān and to include the ancestral territory within the Empire."[3]

Bukhārī returned with a letter from the Shāh to Akbar and a letter from the Shāh's aunt to Mīram Makānī.

---

1 ibid ff. 211b.

2 Akbarnāma III p.1251 (Trans.)

3 ibid III. 1114; he further complains "but the Prince owing to some intrigues did not give his mind to this expedition." This was in 1598 shortly before Bukhari was sent to Persia.

4 Akbar's letter is nowhere to be found but as is usual in oriental correspondance, the Shāh's letter recapitulates all the points to which answer is given. The Shāh promised his co-operation; for Shāh's letter see Jamiʿa-i-Marāsilāt ff.209b.

5 Apparently the lady was Zainab Begum, a sister of Tahmasp and Miram Makani (Bilqis). Miram used to send letters to her mother and sisters in Persia through the agency of the ambassadors. Some of her letters are given in Jamiʿa-i-Marāsilāt (ff.127, 127b, etc.)

A few words may be said about Akbar's attitude towards Persia before passing on to Jahāngīr's reign. In his youth Akbar was very much under Shiʿā influence and the Persian faction was very strong at his court, he consequently accepted the loss of Qandahār in a spirit of resignation. The memory of the Shāh's help to Humāyūn was still fresh to allow any breach of diplomatic relations. With the growth of the Tūrānian Empire under Abdullah the situation was considerably altered, especially after the treaty, but in fact there was little in common between the views of the two sovereigns to bind them together for long. In the beginning Akbar tried to dissuade ʿAbdullah from attacking Persia, but in the end the situation in Persia was such that Akbar was compelled to come to an arrangement with the Tūrānians; besides in this way Qandahar was obtained without any fighting and opposition. After ʿAbdullah's death Akbar reverted to his old policy of friendship with Persia, for he now saw some hope of conquering his ancestral lands in cooperation with the Shah, but Salim gave him no chance to do anything.

CHAPTER II.

Although Jahāngīr as a prince had been on very friendly terms with Shāh ʿAbbās,[1] his reign opened with an unsuccessful attempt by the Persians to occupy Qandahār; as Jahāngīr himself says: "It occurred to me that the death of His Majesty Akbar and the unreasonable outbreak of Khusrau may put an edge on their designs and they may attack Qandahār."[2] This shows that the attack was not quite unexpected.

The Shah's ambassadors, ʿAlī Beg Yuzbāshi and Darwesh Beg, who left India shortly before Akbar's death, must ha carried back to Persia a more or less correct estimate o Khusrau's supporters and his great popularity among the masses, and at this time a prolonged civil war seemed unavoidable. Akbar's death bed diplomacy and Man Singh's timidity, due to the sudden change over of the Sayyids o Bahra, however, unexpectedly sealed Khusrau's fate. The Shah could not be expected to have been aware of these sudden developments at the time of launching his campaign

As the rebellion of Khusrau soon petered out,

---

[1] They had regular correspondence in which they referred to each other as brothers. Jamiʿ-i-Inshā, f.212 b. ʿAbbās also sent Darwesh Beg Kazvini to Salīm.

[2] Tuzk (Translation) p.71.
See also Maʾasir-i-Jahāngīri ff.30.

Jahāngir was able to turn his attention immediately to th frontier by despatching the forces he had brought to figh Khusrau in the Punjab on to Qandahār under Mirza Jani of Sindh; more reinforcements were rushed under Bahadur Kha Qurbegi; while in Qandahar Shāh beg Khān bravely held ou The Persian authorities deny all knowledge and responsibi on the part of the Shāh for this attack, but it is doubtful whether the Shāh was as innocent as he pretended He was kept informed by his agents of the events in India and although ʿAlam-ārai-ʿAbbāsi is silent, Jalāl Munajjim says that Ismāʿil Qulī Khān and Hassan Khān Shāmlu[2] were i constant communication with the Shāh throughout the period of the siege. He mentions the arrival and despat of many couriers;[3] it is also stated that the Shāh was informed as soon as the invading army left Herāt.[4] Two intercepted letters from Jahangīr to Shāh Beg Khān were forwarded to the Shāh by Ismāʿil Qulī Khān. These were firmāns ordering Shāh Beg to kill or capture Khusrau if h

---

1 In his letter to Jahangir.

2 Mentioned by Khafi Khān. Vol.I, p.255. Maāsir-i-Jahangīrī calls him Hussain Khān.

3 ff. 241 b. B.M.M. Add 27, 241.

4 ff. 246 b. ibid. It is also interesting to note that Ismāʿil Qulī sent to the Shāh the tusk of an elephant maddened by the besieged who administered alcohol and let him loose on the besiegers. The elephant, we are told, w overpowered and killed after playing havoc in the camp.

tried to cross the frontier. It seems both the Shāh and Jahāngir were much interested in the movements of Khusrau. Jahāngir was much disturbed at the possibility of his escape to a foreign land; as he says ".........he would take his own way and go for an asylum to the Usbegs or the Persians and the contempt will fall on my government. The Persians retired on the approach of the relieving force and, like Shāh Muhammad Kilāti, they too gave out that they were doing so on receiving orders from the Shāh.[2]

Embassy of Husain Beg.

As it was the policy of both Empires not to allow Qandahār to become an eastern Baghdād, a semblance of friendship was maintained by the arrival of Husain Beg, who was sent by the Shah to apologise for the "indiscretio of his governors. He was received by Jahāngir at Lahore and Rs 10,000 were bestowed on him. The Shāh also sent a firmān[3] to the governors of Herāt and Sistān, censuring them for their conduct and reminding them of "the old friendship between the two families".

---

1 Tuzk. p.54.

2 See Māasir-i-Jahāngiri ff. 30; for the Persian attempt on Qandahār see ʿAlam-ārāi-ʿAbbāsi, ff. 379.

3 For Shāh's firmān see Jamiʿa-ul-Insha (Or. 1599) ff.85 b

Indian Envoy to Persia.

Jalāl Munajjim[1] also mentions the arrival of an Indian envoy with a letter and presents for the Shāh from Shāh Ghāzī, the new governor of Qandahār. There is no mention of this in any Indian history, but he was probably sent, under instructions from Jahāngīr, to thank the Shāh for recalling his troops, and to settle some boundary dispute to which a vague reference is made.

The Embassy of Yādgār 'Alī Sultān.

In April 1611 came the first formal embassy from Persia[2] to offer the Shāh's condolence on the death of Akbar and to congratulate his "brother" Jahāngīr. It brought with it the usual presents of gīlān horses, carpets, silks, etc. Jahāngīr bestowed on the ambassador a robe of honour and Rs 30,000. The Shāh also sent a letter which Jahāngīr says "expressed the greatest friendship and omitted no point of regard and concord." The letter[3] starts with apologies for delay in sending the embassy, owing to the trouble in Sherwān. A few words of praise for the "noble" ambassador, sent to "the most exalted court," are also added to a page of compliments.

---

[1] ff. 294 b.

[2] Maasir-i-Jahāngīrī, ff. 60 a (Or 171). The embassy is also mentioned by William Finch, p. 161 (Early Travels

[3] Jamiʻ-i-Inshā ff. 214.

The letter closes with a prayer that "the tree of hereditary friendship and assiduousness and the garden of intimacy and regard will acquire a new splendour and greenness." All controversies about Qandahār are avoid

Yadgār ʿAlī stayed in India for over two years for one finds many references to him in the histories of this period. Rs 15,000 were bestowed on him in March 1612, for expenses and again a golden Mohar of 1,000 tolas at the time of the New Year feast (1022 A.H.)[1] He was not dismissed till the end of 1613, when Khān ʿĀlam was sent with him. At the time of his departure "a horse, a jewelled sword, an aigrette with feathers, and Rs 40,000 were bestowed on him."

The Embassy of Khān ʿĀlam 1613

The Embassy of Khān ʿĀlam is most important in the history of Mughal diplomacy, for never before or after wa a more splendidly equipped mission sent out. Maʾāsir-ul-Umarā supplies very detailed information of the extensive retinue of the ambassador; about 1200 people accompanied him, besides a body guard and 200 falconers and hunters. It seems the retinue was not limited to human beings alon but a complete zoo of the Indian animals formed a part of the ambassador's suite.[2]

---

1 Many smaller rewards are mentioned in the Tuzk from time to time.

2 The Maʾāsir-ul-umara says, p.732

جانوران از سباع دستور جنگلی و طیور مرغان سخن گو و گاوان گجرات و گردونهای مکلف و پالکیهای مطلا و غیره و غیره

The following account from ʿĀlam-ārāi-ʿAbbāsi is very interesting.[1]

"The highly placed King Salīm Shāh, Ruler of Hindustan sent Mirzā Barkhurdār - entitled Khān ʿĀlam, who is a great noble of that court and is styled as bhai or brother by that Shāh - as his ambassador with Yadgār ʿĀlī Sulṭān Talash. He stayed for a time at Herat and came to the court this year. As His Majesty was away, driving out the Turkish armies from Azarbaijān, Qalb ʿĀlī Beg Shāmlu was appointed to receive him and to convey him to the court. When he reached Kum, Yadgār ʿĀlī separated from him and hastened to the court in advance. The day when Khān ʿĀlam entered Qazvīn the writer of this ʿĀlam-ārā was present in the city, and himself beheld the great magnificence of the ambassador's train. He also made enquiries from the old men, who had beheld other embassies in the days gone by, but all were agreed that from the beginning of this divine dynasty no ambassador ever came from India or Rum with such splendid and lavish equipments; and it is doubtful whether, even in the days of the great kings of the past[2], such embassy ever

---

[1] British Museum Manuscript. Add: 16684 ff. 367.

[2] As I have referred on many occasions, the highest standard of everything was at the time of the Kings of Shahnama.

came from a foreign land.

In this most auspicious reign of His Majesty all the kings of the world, both Muslim and non-Muslim, have expressed their love for him by sending ambassadors and consider this the source of their honour and their greatness.

From the day Khān ʿĀlam set foot on the Persian soil, he had with him 1,000 royal servants, his own private servants and 200 falconers and hunters. He also had with him mighty elephants with golden ornaments and turrets of innumerable kinds, and Indian animals such as lions, tigers, leopards, monkeys, deer, cows, etc; there were also many singing birds and beautiful palkis.

When His Majesty, after the conquest of Āzarbāijān, came back to Qazvīn, Khān ʿĀlam received a firman, summoni[ng] him to the court. When he approached the city, all the principal nobles and ministers went out to receive him an[d] brought him to the garden of Saʿādatābād and there lodged him in the Paradise-like Dilkushā Palace. As His Majesty was busy playing polo at the time of his arrival, he was first received in the polo ground, where he performed kornish, and had the honour of being addressed with these precious words: 'As between me and the exalted king a strong relationship of brotherhood exists, and as His Majesty has called you a brother, it is natural that my

brother's brother is also my brother.' Consequently His Majesty was always very informal with him, and he was excused from all court etiquette and ambassadorial restriction." The account goes on giving details of feasts, hunts, banquets and other functions arranged by the King, and others in his honour.

Jahāngir gratefully acknowledges all the special favours shown to his ambassador by the Shāh in the following words:-

"Of the favours and kindness conferred by my brother on Khan Alam, if I were to write of them in detail, I shoul be accused of exaggeration." [1]

So long did Khān Ālam stay in Persia that he may almost be regarded as the resident Indian ambassador.

---

[1] Page 114, Vol.II. Tuzk. The account is a very long one. See also Rūzatus-Safavīya p.371, 372 for the account of Khān Ālam's embassy.

Khān 'Alam's embassy is also important, for at that time a number of other foreign ambassadors arrived at the Persian Court, especially from Russia,[1] Turkey, Central Asia and the States of the Deccan.

---

1 It is surprising that Sir Percy Sykes describes the Russian Embassy of 1664 as the first Russian Embassy to Persia and expresses great surprise at the lack of diplomatic intercourse. In this connection the following account is interesting:- ('Alam-ārai-'Abbāsi, ff. 367b; Add 16684).
"An account of the ambassador of the Great King of Russia. In this year an ambassador who is a great noble and a courtier of the Russian king travelling via the Caspian, Dashti Qipchāq and the port of Shirwān, reached the capital Qazvin. He was ennobled by being received into the royal presence, when on behalf of his king he conveyed messages of love and respect through an interpreter, after which he produced a long letter which was also full of love and friendship. He was honoured by royal favours. On the day the presents of the ruler of India were displayed on that day also were the presents of the King of Russia and Muscovis accepted. The presents included a number of shot eagles which are nowhere else to be had except Russia, and out of these one was given to Khān 'Alam. After staying for some time he returned to his country via Gilan." (A.D. 1614)

See also "Russia in Asia" by Alexis Kransse, p.109, where the Russian embassy of 1722 is described as the fir

For Sykes see Vol.II, p.212 (1930 Edition).

For Relations between Persia and Russia see also "Paniatniki diplomatic Rusir Persie (St. Petersburg 1890 by N.I. Weselowsky.

To a superficial or a biased observer, such an embassy may seem a waste of public money, but it is not possible to judge such things by the standards of today. In those days an ambassador was in the eyes of the world the personal representation of the sovereign by whom he was sent and whose reflected glory he shared. It must not be forgotten that intercourse between nations was not so frequent, and nations knew very little of each other; travelling was difficult, too, and most dangerous, and it was therefore important for a representative of a great and powerful state to display a good deal of outward dignity and magnificence. It served the purpose of something similar to our publicity campaigns. Khān Ālam's embassy may be regarded as a moving Exhibition of Indian Art, and other products travelling from Herat to Isfahān, and incidentally a good advertisement for his master's power and glory throughout Persia.

It was also essential that the good manners, ready wit and hospitality of an ambassador must be a credit to his country. It was wise of Jahāngīr to have selected a great sportsman and a talented poet like Khān Ālam, for these were the two well known hobbies of Abbas the Great.

Throughout his stay in Persia Khān ʿĀlam was in constant touch with Jahāngīr, for we find in Tuzk many references to the arrival of couriers and messengers from him, and it is reasonable to suppose that he must have been to some degree aware of the intrigues of the representatives of the States of the Deccan. Khān ʿĀlam was also in great favour with the Shāh, for on many occasions the Shāh paid informal visits to his quarters. At the time of his departure in the beginning of 1029 A.H the Shāh came out of the city and accompanied him for som distance before "clasping him in the final embrace of honour." The Shāh also bestowed 15,000 [1] tumāns and other priceless presents on him. It seems the Shāh and the Khan became great friends, for even when the relation between Jahāngīr and ʿAbbās became strained, the Shāh used to write very affectionate letters to the Khān. Chahār Sukhan-i-Brahmin[2] reproduces one of these letters, and it is a very interesting study of the Shāh's complex character.

The Shāh was also very much satisfied with the success of Yādgār ʿAlī's mission to India, for he promoted him to the coveted post of the Governorship of

---

1 Some authorities say fifty thousand.

2 British Museum Add. 26141

Shiraz soon after his return from India.[1]

The Embassy of Mustaga Beg.

After Yadgar Ali's departure from India, Persia was not represented at the Moghul Court for over a year until Mustafa Beg's arrival in Safar, 1024 A.H. (March 1615). The Shah sent many presents including a share for his "brother" of the presents sent by the Sultan of Turkey and a letter informing Jahangir of his success in the Georgian Campaign. More interesting were the nine European hounds sent by the Shah as a special present.[2] A jewelled belt, Rs 20,000 and a jewelled dagger were bestowed on the ambassador and later on a Nur Jahani Mohar was also bestowed on him. After a year's stay he was dismissed with a robe of honour and Rs 20,000 . A reply was also sent to the Shah.

The Embassy of Muhammad Riza Beg Shamlu.

A few months after Mustafa Beg's departure, another ambassador arrived in November 1616, with presents and a letter from the Shah. An elephant was also bestowed on him, in addition to the usual reward.[3] He accompanied Jahangir on his march to the South, and is frequently mentioned by Roe. He was dismissed at Mandu on the

---

1 Ruzatus Safvia 299 p.

2 For the account of this embassy see Maasir-i-Jahangiri f.f.

3 Tuzk. Page 338 and Maasir f.f.97.

3rd Rabi I 1026 (April 1617).[1] Rs 3,000 and a robe of honour were bestowed on him. The presents to the Shāh included a portion of the presents sent by the rulers of the Deccan and a jewelled cup which Chelabi had sent from Iraq. Jahāngīr says: "The Shāh had seen this cup and had said that if my brother would drink of this cup and send it to me it would be a great mark of affection. When the Ambassador mentioned this, having drunk wine several times out of this cup in his presence, I ordered them to make a lid and a saucer for it and sent it along with other presents."

On his way Muḥammad Rīza died at Agra and Muḥammad Qāsim, a member of his suite, was appointed as his executor. Apart from the Persian sources, a good deal of information about this embassy has been left by Roe. His statements, as Sir William Foster rightly points out, are to be cautiously accepted. But apart from any motives of the usual jealousy - then so conspicuous among diplomats - which may have influenced Roe's description of the ceremonials, the political aspect of this mission was correctly surmised by him. The Shāh, as Roe points out, was very much interested in the preservation of the independence of his allies in the Deccan and looked with

---

1 Maāsir says 29th. f.f.104.
For the letter see Jamia-i-Marāsilāt f.f.217.

jealousy on "the increase of this Empire" in that direction.[1] It is surprising that the understanding between the Shah and the States of the Deccan escaped the notice of Mr. Beni Prasad, for he does not in any way connect the Deccan rebellion of 1621 and the Shah's attac on Qandahār a few months after. The Shāh, no doubt, had his designs on the trans-Indus portion of the Mughal Empire and it was his policy to strengthen his Shiʿa allie in the South, both by diplomatic and moral support.

Mr. Beniprasād thinks that Muhammad Riza's embassy "had something to do with Qandahār";[2] but we know that no reference to this question was made by the Shah till after Khan ʿAlam's return to India,[3] for the Shāh could ill afford to open this question at a time when he was very busy in the West - as Roe points out. That Muhammad Riza left disappointed, as Roe would have us believe, is not supported by any Indian or Persian history of this period.

The Embassy of Sayyid Hussain.

Jahāngīr had sent a cup for the Shāh with Muhammad Riza, and the Shāh in return sent one with Sayyīd Hussain who "had the good fortune of kissing the threshold" on the 27th Rabi I (1027 A.H.) March 1618. On the cover of

---

1 Embassy of Roe, p.259; where Roe also gives a long list of the Shah's presents.

2 History of Jahangir p.345

3 As stated by Jahangir in his letter to the Shah after the fall of Qandahar.

the cup was a priceless ruby and Jahangir says "As it was given from excessive friendship it was the cause of the increase of amity and friendship." Such cups as suitable presents from sovereigns are frequently mentioned in Persian literature,[1] and as Ṣafavīs tried to imitate the kings of yore, they too liked sending and receiving such presents.

Sayyid Husain was dismissed after a few days with a robe of honour and Rs 20,000. A jewelled jug made in the shape of a cock was sent to the Shāh along with other presents.

The return of Khān ʿĀlam.

Khān ʿĀlam returned from Persia in 1619,[2] and "had the honour of kissing the threshold at the Garden of Kalanur." Jahangir's impatience is apparent from the following entry in the Tusk: "Every day I sent one of my servants to meet him. I loaded him with all kinds of favours and kindnesses, and added to his rank and dignity The Tusk also gives a long account of the Shāh's favours to the Khān and Jahāngīr says: "If I were to write of the in detail I should be accused of exaggeration." Jahāngīr was also very pleased with the works of Persian

---

1 The Shāhnāma says:-

"The Monarch smiled to hear such a custom.
And bade to set within the envoy's hand
A goblet set with jewels fit for kings
And lay a ruby on the top thereof."

2 Maasir ff.123.

Art brought by the Khān, especially a famous painting of Khalīl Mirzā Shāhrukhi, who was probably the master of Ustad Bihzād.[1] The picture represented Tīmūr's duel with Tugtanish Khān. This precious relic was from the library of Shāh Ismaʿīl I, and by chance came into the han of Khān ʿAlam. The famous Indian painter, Bisham Dās, who accompanied the Khān, also brought back the portraits of the Shāh and his chief nobles.

The Embassy of Zanil Beg Sakdili. Dec., 1620.

Zanīl Beg[2] was appointed to accompany Khān ʿAlam as ambassador to India, but his departure was delayed and he did not reach Lahore till the summer of 1029 A.H. (1620 A.D.), when Jahāngīr was away in Kashmīr. Jahāngīr on learning of his arrival sent Mīr Hasāmuddīn, son of Mīr ʿAzīzuddīn,[3] to Lahore to meet Zanīl, and gave orders to the Governor to bear all the expenses of the ambassador. Zanīl Beg presented his credentials in November, when Jahāngīr returned to Lahore. Among the presents from the Shāh were "12 ʿAbbāsīs", 14 Gilān horses with gilded trappings, three white falcons, five Persian mules, five fine camels, nine bows and scimetars. Jahangir bestowed on the ambassador a superb robe of

---

1 See Arnold's Bihzad and his paintings, etc; for Bisham and Khalīl see Court painters of the Grand Moguls.

2 Maasir-i-Jahāngīri Or.171 ff.140, Tuzk, 178, Iqbālnāma 169.

3 Roe's friend.

honour, with a jewelled plume and dagger. The ambassador also presented two gentlemen of his suite - Wisāl Beg and Haji Niamat, who were courtiers of the Shāh.[1] A State banquet was given in honour of the ambassador and Rs 50,000 more were bestowed on him.

The Embassy of Aqa Beg and Muhib Ali. 1029 A.H. (1620 A.D.)

While Zanīl Beg was still in India, two special ambassadors arrived from the Shāh. Among the presents they brought was a ruby from the collection of Mirzā Shāh Rukh bin Amīr Timūr. Ulgh Beg's name was engraved on this ruby, and the Shāh also had his name[2] engraved in a corner. As this was a precious heirloom, it was much appreciated. It seems that gilān horses and some ornaments and clothes sent by the Shāh were delayed, and were not presented until the 15th Rabiulawal. A State banquet was also given in their honour when they produced their personal presents.

The Embassy of Haji Beg and Fazl Beg.

While this mission was still in India, another ambassador arrived with a letter and presents from the Shāh. All these may be regarded as extraordinary envoys and Zanīl Beg as the Resident ambassador. The four special envoys were dismissed in the end of Rabi l [illegible] 1030 (1621). Rs 4,000 were bestowed on Āqā Beg and

---

1 p.186.II. Tuzk.

2 for the account of this embassy see Māasir ff.143.

Rs 30,000 each on the other three.[1]

Scarcely had these four envoys departed, when another appeared with a letter and presents from the Shah. The Shah had asked for some birds, which were sent with the ambassador when he was dismissed in January 1622.

The Mission of Qasim Beg.

While these ambassadors came and went, Zanīl Beg continued residing at the Court. There can be hardly any doubt that he was regarded as a permanent ambassador, for Jahangir granted to him in addition to the villages,[2] already assigned to the Persian ambassador, a village near the capital, with an annual revenue of Rs 16,000.[3] We also find records of many other grants of money made to him from time to time. One of the royal residences near Lahore was also given to him.

No details are given in any Indian or Persian histor of the causes which induced the Shāh to send so many missions in close succession to one another, but, reading between the lines of different versions, it is not very difficult to draw some conclusions. An indirect referenc is to be found in the Shāh's letter to the Grand Vazīr of Sultān Mustafa of Turkey soon after the fall of Qandahār. There can be hardly any doubt that their

---

1 Maasir 147 b.

2 Throughout Jahangir's reign relations with Persia were on a permanent basis, and there was hardly a year when Persia was not represented at his Court.

3 Tuzk (Trans.) II, p.211.

apparent object was to expedite the negotiations for the return of Qandahar begun by Zanīl Beg, and to obtain a final reply from Jahāngīr. It seems the Shāh wanted, if possible, to avoid resorting to arms, or, at least, to give that impression. He had, however, been careful enough to be prepared in case of an unfavourable reply. His intrigues with the rulers of the Deccan and the petty chiefs of Baluchistān, had made it impossible for Jahāngīr to take any effective measures of defence. It must have been arranged that the attack on Qandahār should be launched shortly after the commencement of hostilities in the Deccan.

While Khān ʿĀlam was still in Persia, the Shāh received Mīr Khalīlullah Khushnavis from Bijāpur, Shaikh Muḥammad Khātuni from Golcanda, and a representative from Nizām Shah of Ahmadnagar.[1] The rulers of the Deccan, it seems, were alarmed at the growing friendship between the Shāh - their natural ally - and Jahāngīr - their old enemy; and, hearing of Khan ʿĀlam's reception in Persia and his influence over the Shāh, immediately sent their ambassadors to Persia.

---

1 ʿĀlam-ārāi ʿAbbāsi ff. 368, 372.

In 1030 A.H. when Zanīl Beg was appointed as ambassador to Jahāngīr, Tālib Beg Aivaghālī, Qāsim Beg - Governor of Mazindrān, and Darwesh Beg[1] were sent to Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar respectively, as the Shāh's ambassadors with the returning Deccanis.[2] It is quite apparent that the object of these missions to Persia was to seek the Shāh's help against the steady advance of the Mughal Emperor in the Deccan. It is difficult to say how the Shāh could have helped them, except by creating a diversion on the N.W. Frontier of India.

Certain entries in the Tuzk leave hardly any doubt that Jahāngīr was kept informed of these intrigues. In the events of the 15th year it is recorded that Bahadur Khan, the Governor of Qandahār, was suddenly promoted to the mansab of 5,000 personal and 4,000 horses. A few days after, the officials of the Punjab[3] were ordered to send two lakhs of rupees in addition to Rs 60,000 already sent to increase the provisions in the fort of Qandahār. Khān Ālam must have also been aware of the movement of the Persian troops towards the eastern frontier. A ready excuse was furnished by the hostility of the Usbegs, who,

---

1 Darwesh Beg died at Shirāz and Muhammad Beg was appointed in his place.

2 ff. 371 b. Ālam-ārāi-Abbāsi.

3 Tuzk II. p.192.

when the Shah was busy in Azarbaijan, suddenly fell on the fort of Murghab and after slaughtering its Qizilbash garrison carried away the Commander - a Shamlu notable. On the approach of the Persian troops Nazr Muhammad apologised through his mother,[1] who was a daughter of the holy house of the sayyids of Mashhad and a sister of Mirza Abu Tālib, whom ʿAbbās held in great reverence. The apology was accepted, but the troops kept on moving eastward.

Another very interesting incident, not mentioned in any Indian history, is the arrival of the Chief of Kech and Makran at the Persian Court. It seems shortly before the Shah launched his attack on Qandahār, the Governor of Sistan and Karman Malik Shamsuddin started operations against Kech and Makran, whose ruler was a tributary to Jahangir and had paid a visit to Agra.

In 1030 A.H., soon after Khān ʿAlam's departure, Malik Mirza submitted, through the intercession of Malik Shah Hussain, a noble of Sistan. He came to Isfahān to offer his submission[2] and after being suitably rewarded returned to his kingdom. Later on, we are told, he co-operated in the attack on Qandahār.

---

1 Nazr's mother Zuhra Banu Begum, was a sister of Sayyid Abu Talib, a descendant of Imam ʿAli Riza and the Mutawali of the tomb, and was married to Din Muhammad soon after the conquest of Mashhad, after whose death she returned to Mashhad where she was, on ʿAbbās's order, married to Murtaza Quli Khān the governor of Mashhad.
ʿAlam-ārāi-ʿAbbāsi, ff.374.

2 ibid ff.374.; Makran has been a bone of contention between India & Persia, see Sir Frederic Golsmid Makran & Sistan Arbitration Commission Report 18[illegible]

It appears, from the trend of accounts in the Persian histories of this period, that the Shah hoped one day to extend the boundary of his empire to the right bank of th Indus. It is not, therefore, surprising that the hostilities in the Deccan opened soon after the arrival of the Persian ambassadors in those parts.[1] The attack on Qandahar began only when the best troops were already despatched to the Deccan.

Although Jahāngīr talked a great deal about fortifyin Qandahār, but little could be done owing to the attitude of Shahjahan, and it fell after a feeble resistance.[2] It seems surprising that the Shāh should have sent so man embassies in close succession before launching his attack There can be little doubt that he wanted to avoid an open conflict for the time being at least, and desired to bring about a peaceful settlement on both the question of Qandahar and of the Deccan, but he was also prepared for the other eventuality. His intrigues had made it impossible for Jahangir to take any effective measures of defence. Certain entries in ʿAlam ārāi ʿAbbāsī also show how deep was the Shāh's interest in the intrigues of

---

1 It is interesting to note that Nizāmshāh's envoy Habsh Khān was with the Shāh during the siege of Qandahār. See ʿAlam ārāi ʿAbbāsi, ff.377.

2 Elliott and Dawson VII. p.64. English Factories in India 1622 - 3 p.108.
It fell after a siege of 45 days.
ʿAlam-ārāi-ʿAbbāsi gives the following date (1031)
ff.379.

Nurjahan against Shāhjahān. The Shāh attributes Jahāngīr's reluctance to surrender Qandahār to "the people who had gained undesirable influence over his brother."[1]

It is not beyond the realm of possibility that the Shāh's representatives were in touch with Shāhjahān, and also kept him supplied with the latest information about the Court intrigues. How far Shāhjahān was involved it is difficult to say, for if there was any such agreement between him and the Shāh, it must have been secret and all reference to it would naturally be suppressed, both in Indian and Persian histories. It is only a conjecture based purely on the sequence of certain events. After all what was the importance of Qandahār to Shāhjahān when the very question of his succession was in the balance? He knew that with the loss of Qandahār Jahāngīr would be busy suppressing the wave of unrest that would naturally sweep over the whole of Afghanistān and the frontier tribes, leaving him a comparatively open field in the South. His terms,[2] conveyed in reply to Jahāngīr's order to proceed to Qandahār, were most offensive, and would have amounted to an abdication of

---

1 In his letter to the Prime Minister of Turkey and also Ālam-ārāi-Abbāsi f.f.375.

2 Conveyed by Zainul Abdīn - see Qazvīnī. f.103 b. Amal-i-Saleh, Vol.I, pp.167-8.

power had Jahāngīr accepted them.

While the Shāh was still at Qandahār Shāhjahān's ambassador Zāhid Beg appeared with a letter[1] and presents an act which cannot be explained in any way, for so far Jahāngīr had taken no action against Shāhjahān. The Shāh treated the ambassador very kindly and dismissed him with a reply to the letter he had brought.[2]

Another letter[3] was sent by Shāhjahān to the Shāh with Khwāja Hājī at the time of his retreat to the Deccan. This was an open appeal for help, for he says "I too have like my forefathers turned to you for help with the hope that you will give me proper aid at the proper time." But the Shāh, whatever encouragement he might have given to Zāhid Beg, now advised him to be loyal to his father and said: "I am sending an ambassador to Jahāngīr to recommend your case."

The Embassy of Haidar Beg and Wali Beg.

Soon after the fall of Qandahār the Shāh sent two ambassadors with a letter, explaining away his occupation of Qandahār. The letter starts with the usual prayers, compliments and apologies. It recapitulates the Shāh's claim to Qandahār, and reminds Jahāngīr of his ancestor's promise. He apologises for his action which he attribut

---

1 Jamia-i-Marāsilāt f.f.226.

2 f.f. 381 b. Ālam-ārā - (Add 16684)

3 Jamia-i-Inshā f.f.214-16. M.I. 228.

not to any desire for conquest, but "it occurred to me that I would go to Qandahār to see it and to hunt."[1] The Shah closes the letter with the hope that the cordial relations between the two empires will not be broken by such trivial incidents and that he will regard Qandahār as a gift from his brother.

Jahāngīr sent a very dignified reply in which he blamed the Shāh for breaking faith and disregarding old friendship, and the special relations of brotherhood. He complains that the first message from Qandahār was delivered by Zanīl Beg, and that the Shāh should have waited for his return before taking action. His following remarks are very interesting for they throw some light on the conception of inter-state relations in those days:- "Clearly the methods of union and concord among the princes require that, if they make oaths of friendship to one another, there should be perfect spiritual agreement between them. There should be no need for physical contact and still less should there be any necessity for visiting one another's countries for hunting and spectacle."

---

1 See Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī f.f.157.
Compare it to Alexander's message to Darius
"I have no wish to fight against the Shah
Mine aim is this
To roam about the earth a little space
And see the world for one." (Shāhnāmah)
The Safavis tried to imitate even the excuses given by old kings.

2 See (a) Tuzk II (Trans.) pp.192, 230, 233.
(b) Iqbālnāma 191-2.
(c) English Factories in India 1618-21, p.233.

Jahangir talks of extensive preparations, but the Shah's ambassadors must have carried back a sorrowful tale of the state of affairs in India due to the policy of Nurjahan.

Embassy of Aga Beg.

The Shah now endeavoured to reconcile Jahangir and turned a cold shoulder to Shahjahan. He sent Aqa Beg in 1033 A.H. (1624) to bring about, if possible, a resumption of diplomatic relations. A letter full of affectionate expression, and also recommending Shāhjahān's case for more sympathetic consideration, was brought by Aga Beg.[1] Jahāngīr treated Āqā Beg with great respect and dismissed him with a robe of honour and a reward of Rs 30,000, but no ambassador was sent to Persia. A reply was sent to the Shāh's letter with many presents, which included a jewelled club worth a lakh of rupees and a jewelled belt.

Embassy of Ishaq Beg.

After having submitted to his father, Shāhjahān sent Ishāq Beg to inform the Shāh that he had acted on the Shāh's advice.

---

1 For the letter see Jāmi'a-i-Mahalt: ff.222.

It seem as soon as Jahangir heard about the fall of Qandahar he sent an insulting letter to Shāh Abbas. The Shah also sent an equally insulting reply but compari[son] in more polite language than that of the Jāhangīr. These letters are only to be found in Isari 'Abdullah's Dastur ul Insha and no mention of them is made anywhe[re] in any Indian or Persian history. They were probably private letters.

CHAPTER III.

Towards the end of Jahāngīr's reign we have seen that relations with Persia were not maintained, although the Shāh seemed anxious to renew them. After the loss of Qandahār, Jahāngīr had a just resentment against an old friend, who had not only deprived him of a rich province, but had instigated against him the rulers of the Deccan and possibly Shāhjahān. The Shāh, however, kept on sending ambassadors, but no one was sent in return from India. When 'Abbās heard of the death of Parwiz, he appointed Takta Beg for the mission of condolence, but before he could leave there arrived the news of Jahāngīr's death and of Shāhjahān's rapid success against his rivals

Behri Beg was now appointed on the usual mission of condolence and congratulation. But before he reached the Indian Court, Shah Abbas died at Mazandaran on the 9th January 1629, and was succeeded by his grandson Sām Mirza son of the unfortunate Ṣafī Mirzā, who now took the title of Ṣafī I.

Behri Beg in India.

Although Shāhjahān was aware of the Shāh's death, he appointed 'Mutaqid Khān to receive Behri Beg, and to

[1] 'Alam ārāi 'Abbāsī f.f.416 (Add 166684).

introduce him into the royal presence. On 5th July 1629, Shāhjahān bestowed a robe of honour and Rs 20,000 [2] on the ambassador who produced the late Shah's letter.[3] He was dismissed on the 12th Rabi-ul-awwal 1039 (1629 A.D.) with a further reward, an elephant, a robe of honour and a jewelled dagger.

The Embassy of Mir Birka.

At this time Mir Birka was sent to Persia on the usual mission after the death of Shāh ʿAbbās.[4] Rs 50,000 were given to him for his expenses. A letter and a few presents for the Shāh, which included a beautifully wrought sword and a jewelled dagger, were entrusted to his care. In the letter[5] Shāhjahān reminded the new Shah of the old friendship between the two houses. "The late Shāh" he continued, "treated me in the days of my vicissitude as an uncle should treat a nephew, leaving a great burden of gratitude on my shoulders." The letter is very long and is full of all sorts of advice for the young Shāh. It closes with a word of praise for Mir Birka, a request for his early dismissal, and a promise of a regular embassy in the near future.

---

1 Qazvīnī f.f.176 b - 77.

2 Pādshāhnāma (Lah:)I, p.261.
Amal-i-Saleh, p.333.

3 Jāmiʿ-i-Marāsilāt. f.229.

4 Page 282 Pādshāhnāma I (Lah.) and f.f.252 of Jāmiʿ-i-Mar[ā]s[i]l[ā]t:, Qazvīnī, f.f.183 b.

The Embassy of Muhammad Ali Beg.

Shortly after his accession to the throne, Shah Ṣafī I sent Muḥammad ʿAlī Beg with a long, pompous and almost meaningless letter to Shāhjahān. When the news of the ambassador's arrival reached the Emperor, he was absent in the Deccan to suppress the rebellion of Khan Jahān Lodi. Mahamat Khān was sent to bring the envoy to the Deccan. Muhammad ʿAlī was lavishly entertained on his route by Mu'taqid Khān, the Governor of Malwa[1] at Mandu.

On 18th Shaban 1040, when the ambassador reached ne Burhānpur, Afzal Khān was ordered to conduct him into th royal presence. Shāhjahān was very generous and kind to the ambassador throughout his stay. He was dismissed on the 30th June 1632, soon after Mir Birkas return.[2] At the time of his departure Rs 25,000, in addition to Rs 60,000 already bestowed on him in Ramzan, were given to him, and also a golden robe of honour, an elephant, and other presents. His two secretaries, Muhammad Taqī a Allah Qulī were also suitably rewarded.[3] Mir Muhammad A was appointed as chief body guard, and sent to convey him to the frontier.

---

[1] Qazvīnī. f.219, Lāh: Vol.I. p.361.

[2] Qazvīnī. f.f.249-50, Lāh: p.441.

[3] Lāh: 442.

In spite of these embassies Shāhjahān had all the time other designs, and was actively plotting, as has bee explained in his relations with Turkey, to profit by the unrest that followed the death of Shāh ʿAbbās, and by the youth and inexperience of the new Shāh. That Shāhjahān was expecting some news of the conditions in Iraq is proved by an entry in ʿAmal-i-Saleh,[1] and consequently he did not dismiss Muhammad ʿAlī Beg till after Mir Birka's return from ʿIraq.[2] Meanwhile, an incident occurred in the province of Qandahār which should have been a sufficient warning to the Persians of the Emperor's duplicity.

Sher Khān Tarīn, the Persian Governor of Qoshanj, although a favourite of Shāh ʿAbbās, had, like all the members of his race, become rebellious after the Shāh's death, and began to plunder travellers and caravans from Persia. Ali Mardān Khān, the Governor of Qandahār, warned him many a time without effect. In 1630, when She Khān left Qoshanj to plunder Sibī, ʿAlī Mardān fell on Qoshanj and occupied it. Sher Khān after an unsuccessful attempt to recapture it, retired to Dokī. He appealed through Ahmad Beg - the Governor of Multān - to Shāhjahān He was sent for by the Emperor and was granted an audienc

---

[1] f.f.358.

[2] Page 422, Lah: Vol.I.

on the 13th of March, 1632, and though no help was given to him to recover Qoshanj, he was assigned a jagir in the Punjab,[1] not very far from his old province.

The Embassy of Safdar Khan.

On the 25th of Shawwal 1042 A.H. Khwaja Qasim, otherwise known as Safdar Khan, was sent as ambassador to Persia.[2] As Muhammad 'Ali Beg had brought presents worth 3 lakhs of rupees from the Shah, others worth four lakhs were now sent to the Shah in return. The majority of the presents consisted of finely wrought jewellery and other fancy articles manufactured in the royal factories of Ahmadabad, Patna, Benares and Malda. A letter drafted by Afzal Khan on behalf of Shahjahan was also sent. The letter began with the usual words of compliment and praise, and reminded the Shah of the old friendship betwe the two houses. A few words of praise about the manners of Muhammad 'Ali Beg[3] are capable of double meaning, if interpreted in the light of the sentence that follows:- "It seems that none of the able men of the time of our late uncle - the dweller of paradise - is left to advise Your Majesty on the subject of the old friendship between this house of the Khilafat and that exalted dynasty." (Safavi) It is apparent that there were some matters

---

1 Qazvini f.f.245 b, Khuld-i-Barin, f.f.40-41.
Lah: Vol.2, pp.419-21.

2 Qazvini, f.f.269-73 b.
Lah: I, pp.477-86. 'Amal. 550.

3 "محمد علی بیگ که از اوضاع او معلوم میشود که خدمت سلاطین نموده حضور ب آداب گردیده"

which had caused friction between the two empires, for Shāhjahān expresses a hope for their amicable settlement. Certain verbal messages of great importance entrusted to the ambassador are also mentioned. A lengthy account of the conquest of Ahmadnagar and the severe punishment inflicted on the States of the Deccan is given, probably to remind the Shāh that in case of hostility he could not depend on his hereditary Indian allies this time. There can be little doubt that all these complications concerned Qandahar and Qoshanj.

From all accounts it seems that Safdar's mission was an organised espionage. Safdar was received by the Shāh soon after the successful Eriwān campaign.[1]

The Embassy of Hussaini.

In 1047 A.H., while Safdar Khān was still in Persia, Hussaini was sent on a special mission to the Shāh with a letter. The object of the mission is given - "As friendship demands that we should communicate to a friend the events which have led to our happiness." The letter contains an account of the rapid success of Shāhjahān's arms in the Deccan and Bundhelkhand after Safdar Khān's departure. The letter concludes with the following words:

"From the letter of H.E. Safdar Khān, we learn that he was exalted by being kindly received by that noble son

---

1 Khuld-i-barīn, f.f.90 and 107.

(The Shāh). We expect that the Khān will still be there when this letter arrives, and will present it to Your Majesty in association with Husaini. A few words have also been addressed to the Khān in a firmān. It is hoped that with the instructions conveyed through Husaini he will be able to reach some agreement with Your Majesty."[1]

In order to understand the real significance of Hussaini's mission one has to grasp the effect on Persia's neighbours of the death of Shāh ʿAbbās. All of them, without exception, immediately started reviving their long deferred schemes of vengeance. On the west, Murad IV started active preparations to recover Iraq and Eriwan. On the north, the Usbegs began to dream of the recovery of Khurasan. On the east Shāhjahān started his intrigues to get back Qandahār and Zamindāwar. On all sides Persia was assailed by age-long enemies,[2] but so strong was as yet the prestige of Persia that for a time none of them dared to attack her alone. They attempted to form an anti-Persian league of Sunni powers, and the part played by Shahjahan in this scheme has been referred to more fully elsewhere, but it may be here pointed out that he was flirting both with Persia and her enemies. He had two

1 Page 259 Lah: Vol.I.

2 For these events see Qasis-ul-Khāqānī by Walī Qulī Shāmlū.

great ambitions, one, to get back Qandahar, and the other like all the monarchs of his race - to occupy his "ancestral lands." The attainment of one to a great extent precluded the other. His father had, through Khwāja ʿAbdur Rahīm, already received an offer of Uzbeg's help in case of an attack on Qandahār. But it seems in the beginning Shahjahan wanted to get back Qandahar through diplomatic efforts and reserve his energies to recover Trans-Oxiana, if possible with Persian co-operation. It was not till he was disappointed from this quarter that he openly approached her enemies with a proposal for alliance.

There is no doubt that Husaini was the bearer of some new proposals about the return of Qandahār. The Shah was at this time engaged on all sides with his enemies and Shahjahan wanted to take full advantage of this situation. But as luck would have it, a new channel of intrigues was at this time opened by the rebellion of ʿAlī Mardān Khān. The Khān was alarmed at the strictness of the new Wazir Saru Taqi, who brought to the notice of the Shah accumulated arrears of revenue, which ʿAlī Mardān Khān, taking advantage of the disturbed state of affairs in Persia, had failed to send to the Royal Treasury. The Shāh summoned him to the Court, but he,

knowing too well the fate of so many who had preceded him there, offered many excuses for his inability to attend personally, but at the same time sent his son Muhammad ʿAli with a promise to pay 12,000 tuman yearly if left undisturbed in the government of Qandahar. The Shah rejected the offer and appointed Siyawash Qullar-aqasi as the governor of Qandahar with orders to capture Ali Mardan. ʿAli Mardan too had some supporters, especially Jani Khan Qurcinbashi, but it seems they could not do much in face of the open hostility of Vazir, who now submitted a long list of charges against him.[2]

The arrival of the Governor-designate with a large army frightened[3] the Khan, for many of the Qizilbash garrison escaped and joined the Persian forces outside the fort.[4] At the suggestion of Malik Mughdud[5] - a leading Abdali chief - ʿAli Mardan sent Mughdud's brother Kamran to Ewaz Khan Qaqshal, the Commander of Ghaznin and Saʿid Khan the governor of Kabul, asking for immediate help. He also sent a letter to Shahjahan promising to surrender the fort

---

1 See Maʾasir-ul-umara, p.186 (Trans.)

2 Khuld-i-Barin pp.114-116 b.

3 Tahir Wahid says that his fears were quite imaginary f. 23

4 Lah: Vol.II, p.32.

5 Tahir Wahid says Mashhad ʿAli.

if sufficient troops were sent to take it over. Sa'id Khān forwarded the letter to the Court by Rafi'ullah, nephew of Qāzi Khān, an official of Kabul.[1] In the meantime, Ali Mardan's position became more and more critical and he began sending repeated appeals to the Moghul officers near by, especially to Qulij Khān.

Ewāz Khān marched out of Ghaznin in the middle of February 1638, with about 1,000 soldiers, and on the 12th day reached Qandahar. Ali Mardan opened the doors to him. On the last day of the month Khutba was recited in Shāhjahān's name. 'Ali Mardān sent a formal letter of submission with nine newly coined Mohars to the Emperor. Sa'id Khān also marched out of Kābul and, after occupying Qilāt Ghilzai, which surrendered without any resistance, reached Qandahar soon after Ewāz.

Though the great majority of the inhabitants of Qandahar were sunnis and consequently pro-moghul, there were quite a good number of shias, who bitterly resented 'Ali Mardān's treachery. Muhammad Amin, the Qāzi of Qandahār, had great influence on 'Ali Mardān's mind, and succeeded one night in inducing the Khan to repent; a plot to kill Ewāz Khān was hatched, but Mashhad Quli Khan

---

1 Page 23, Lah: Vol.II.

"2. Sir Percy Sykes wrongly states that Qandahār was siezed by the Uzbegs after the death of AbbasI (P. 217, Vol II 1930). It never passed into their hands after Shaibanis death. It is surprising that these remarks should have escaped Longworth Dames notice.

at last convinced Ali Mardan of the utter futility of this plan. One lakh of rupees was sent to ʻAlī Mardān and two lakhs to Malik Maghdud, his brother, and to ʻAlī Mardan's officers from the treasury of Kābul by the Emperor's order.

Elaborate preparations were made by Shāhjahān for the defence of the fort under the command of Qulij Khān. Saʻīd Khān in the meantime defeated Siyawash's army which escaped beyond the Hilmand. Bist and Zamindawar were also subdued.[1]

In Ramazān 1048 A.H. Safdar Khān sent a letter to Shāhjahān which throws a great deal of light on the Turco-Persian relations of that period and on the surrender of Baghdad by Tahmāsp Qulī Khān.[3] It also mentioned how the Christian powers, on hearing of the Sulṭān's expedition to Iraq, had started mobilization which led to Murād's hurried retreat from Tabrīz and its reoccupation by the Shah. It is interesting to note that the Shāh distributed the Turkish prisoners all over Persia and the batch that was sent to Qandahār ultimately came to India after ʻAlī Mardān's surrender and were sent back to Turkey via Surat.[2]

Being fairly well informed of the events in Persia,

---

1 Lah: Vol.II, pp.24-54; Khuld. f.116.

2 Page 18, Lah: Part III, Vol.II.

3 Son of Korah Khan ibid p 16

Shahjahan wanted to take full advantage of the situation. It seems that intrigues with Ālī Mardān were initiated through one Pirī Aghā, long before Siyawash's arrival.[1]

The Embassy of Yadgar Beg.

Soon after the fall of Qandahār, Yādgār Beg arrived from Persia with a letter[2] and presents from the Shāh. Mīr Khān and other nobles were sent to receive him at a little distance from the capital. It seems he had left Persia before the fall of Qandahār. Rs 30,000 and a robe of honour were bestowed on him. Rs 4,000 were also given to his brother Safī Qulī.[3] After the fall of Qandahār Safdar Khān was dismissed with the usual honours accorded to a returning ambassador, but no one was sent with him from Persia for the occupation of Qandahār was regarded by the Shāh as an act of War.[4]

Hussaini's Return.

Hussaini lingered on in Persia and did not return to the Indian Court till 20th Rajab 1048 when he was received by the Emperor in an audience. He must have brought back some information about the movements of the Persian troops under Rustam Khān, for elaborate precaution were taken, but it seems the Shāh was too busy in the west to take any effective measures for the recovery of Qandahār. The Shāh, however, sent a letter to Shāhjahān

---

1 For these intrigues see Lah: Vol.II. pp.23-28; Bahar-i-Sukhan f.45.

2 Jāmiʿ-i-Marāsilāt ff. 253b.-54.

3 Lah: II. p.99

4 For Safdar Khān's return see Page 117, Lah:II.

through Hussaini in which Shāhjahān was addressed as 'uncle'. It is not improbable that both Safdar and Hussaini had tried to deceive the Shāh that the occupatio[n] of Qandahar was due more to a misunderstanding than to any designs of conquest on the part of Shāhjahān.[1]

The Return of Yadgar Beg.

Yādgār Beg was allowed to return in 1639. In all Shāhjahān bestowed on him two lakhs of rupees in cash and gifts worth Rs 50,000. In a letter sent with him, Shāhjahān though justifying the occupation of Qandahār, apologised for any misunderstanding caused by his action and advised the Shāh to forget the incident. A glass, a decanter and a tray, all set with priceless jewels, were sent to the Shāh. Another robe of honour and a jewelled sword were given to the ambassador.[2]

The Embassy of Jan-nisar Khan.

No further diplomatic intercourse took place betwee[n] the two Empires till after the death of Shāh Safī I, whe[n] Shāhjahān sent Jān-nisār Khān in Safar 1058 A.H.,[3] apparently on the customary mission of condolence and congratulation, but in reality to secure Persian neutrali[ty] for Central Asiatic Campaign. Although Shāh ʿAbbās II was very young and the administration was carried on by Saru Taq, Persia was in a favourable position to interve[ne]

---

1 See for these events Qiṣaṣ ff.43.

2 Lah. II, p.125.

3 Lah. II. pp.492-500; Tāhir Wahīd 61-64; Qisas f.54.

owing to her friendly relations with Sultān Ibrāhim. Jān-nisār was promoted in rank before his departure and a large sum was given to him for his expenses. Presents work 3½ lakhs were sent to the Shāh. A letter drafted by the famous Prime Minister, Saʿdullah Khān was also sent. It began with a quotation from the Qurān. It also gave some lame excuses for the occupation of Qandahār and attributed the misunderstanding caused in the mind of the late Shāh to flatterers who magnified this "little incident" and thus succeeded in their mischievous designs of breaking off old established relations between the two houses. The Shāh was addressed as "beloved grandson". A hope for the renewal of old friendship was also expressed.[1]

It might be pointed out here why Persia refrained from taking the part of the Usbegs when she had a strong grudge against Shahjahan. The Persian histories tell us that, in spite of a strong anti-Mughal party at the Court, the idea of helping the bigoted sunnis of Central Asia did not very much appeal to the Persian mind in general. Saru Taqi, the regent, was not sure enough of his position to indulge in the experiment of a war; and, above, all the Shah was a minor and in a personal

---

[1] Letter is given both in Lah: II and Majmuaʿul Insha 122b - 12

government, an aggressive foreign policy is impossible during a minority administration.

The Mission of Arslān Beg.

When Nazr Muḥammad Khān escaped to Persia, Shāhjahān immediately sent Arslān Beg, son of Firhād Beg Baluch, as an envoy extraordinary to Shāh ʿAbbās II, with a letter explaining the causes which led to the Central Asiatic Campaign and the conquest of Balkh; a hope for the ultimate conquest of Samarqand and Bukhara was also expressed. The letter stated that Arslān Beg was not entrusted with any other mission - except in connection with that letter. There is little doubt that the real object was to dissuade the Shāh from his contemplated help to Nazr. Many costly presents were also sent.[1]

Loss of Qandahar.

In 1648 when ʿAbbās assumed authority he aspired to outshine his illustrious ancestor of the same name. Qandahar presented a suitable target, for the Mughal prestige was then very low owing to the disastrous Central Asiatic Campaign. He first succeeded in securing not only Turkish neutrality, but even Sultān Ibrāhīm's good wishes[2] for Shāhjahān had offended the Sultān, as explained elsewhere.

---

1 Lah: II. pp.595-602.

2 Qisas ff. 25-26. It is also stated that Ibrāhīm sent an ambassador wishing ʿAbbās success in the campaign.

The Embassy of Shah Quli Beg.

Before beginning his campaign the Shāh dismissed the Indian ambassador, in order to maintain the secrecy of his preparations. Shāh Qulī Beg was sent with presents and a very polite letter[1] to Shāhjahān. In the letter the Shah highly commended the Emperor's generosity in restoring Balkh to Nazr Muhammad and hoped for the "similar restoration of Qandahār." There could have been little doubt about the reply and the fort was investe on 16th December 1648.

Shāhjahān was much upset, for he had been deceived by the youthfulness of the Shāh. He wanted to move immediately to Kabul to supervise personally the measures of relief, but the Shah had been clever to foresee the unpopularity of a winter campaign among the Indian troops and ministers and had timed his attack accordingly. Shāhjahān's minister succeeded in persuading him to move to Lahore instead of Kabul, and to send ʿAlī Mardān Khān with 5,000 troops and 5 lakhs of rupees.[2] In Qandahār itself Dâulat Khān, the Governor, was a weak old man, and his task was made more difficult by the treacherous attitude of Shādi Khān, who ultimately opened the Wais Qarn gate to the Persians, thus forcing Dâulat Khān to capitulate on Feb: eleventh 1649.

---

1 Pages 25-26. Munshāʾat Tāhir Wahīd.

2 Waris 411-13.

The Shāh, as his great-grandfather had done, sent Shāh Qulī Khān with an apologetic letter, when Shāhjahān was at Kabul supervising preparations for Aurangzeb's siege of Qandahār. The Emperor did not receive the ambassador into an audience, but appointed Ja'far Khān to entertain him. He stayed for a month without managing to obtain an audience, and was dismissed with a verbal reply from Shāhjahān conveyed through Ja'far. The verbal message is given by Wāris[1] in the following words:- "Go and tell your master that it behoved him to have continued the hereditary friendship between the two houses. It is only the wise who can appreciate the need of a strong friend. When we heard of the Shah's attack on Qandahār, we immediately ordered the Prince (Aurangzeb) with countless forces to contest its possession, and we are in the meantime staying here (Kābul). As the Shāh has retired on hearing of the approach of our army, although the Prince was eager to give him a battle, he has now been forced to lay siege to the fort. It is only through God's help that we have been able to do what has already been done and by his aid we hope still more shall be achieved."

It is needless to go into the details of Aurangzeb's unsuccessful campaigns of 1649 and 1652. When he failed

---

1 f. 463-66 (Add: 6556).

to take the fort, he tried to bribe the governor Autār Khān, who sent him a contemptuous reply. A more elaborate but equally abortive attempt was made by Dara in 1653.[1]

No diplomatic relations were maintained with Persia throughout the remainder of Shāhjahān's reign. During the War of succession Murād opened a correspondence with the Shāh, and we learn that the Shāh actually mobilized some troops to Qandahār,[2] but so rapid was Aurangzeb's success that before the Shāh could take some action, all the claimants had disappeared from the scene. Dārā also wrote to the Shāh after his defeat, seeking for the Shāh's intervention.[3]

---

1 See Latiful Akhbār (a detailed account of the siege) Add: 24089.
See also Waris ff. 468-473 b, and Tārikh-i-Tāhir (Add: 11632) ff.114 b.

2 For letters to and from Murad see Munshā'āt-i-Tāhir Wahid(1)f.f.6b - 7b. (2) 10b. See also Qisas ff.135, 137

3 ibid. f.f.3b - 4b.

CHAPTER IV.

It was probably the attitude of hostility towards Shāhjahān after the unpleasantness about Qandahār which induced Shāh Ābbās II to take such an active interest in the War of Succession. Aurangzeb's rapid and decisive victories left him no alternative but to recall his troop There can be little doubt that from the very outset the Shāh was not well disposed towards Aurangzeb on account of their bigotry and Aurangzeb's inveterate hostility towards the Shah's allies and co-religionists in the Deccan.[2] The Shāh knew that Aurangzeb's success would mean the extinction of the southern kingdoms. Had the War of Succession been a little prolonged, Aurangzeb's opponents could have depended on Persian and possibly the Deccani support.

It must have been with a heavy heart that Abbas decided to send the customary embassy of congratulation to Aurangzeb in 1070 A.H. and this attitude of indifferen to a great extent explains their subsequent bitter relations. It seems that Aurangzeb after defeating his brothers and imprisoning his father, established some sor

---

[1] For War of Succession and the Shah's interest in it, see Qiṣaṣ ff. 134.

[2] See The correspondence between the Shah and the rulers of Bijapur and Golcanda Munshiat-i-Tahir Wahid ff.7-10

of contact with Persia through one of his friends Hakīm Daud - a Persian by birth and an old friend of Zulfiqār Khān - the minister of the Shāh. The object was that Zulfiqār should induce the Shāh to send the customary embassy of congratulation to Aurangzeb.[1] This is, however, not mentioned by any Indian historian.

The Embassy of Budaq Beg[2] 1661.

As soon as the news of the Persian ambassador's arrival on the Indian frontier reached Aurangzeb he appointed Abdāl Beg as the official Mehmāndār. Orders we[re] also sent to Tarbiat Khān - the governor of Multān, Khalilullah Khān the governor of Lahore and other officia[ls] of the Punjāb for suitable entertainment of the ambassador. "According to the established custom of Indi[a] the Emperor was kept informed of the ambassador's progres[s] towards the capital from stage to stage.[3] Budāq kept on sending by swift couriers fruits which he was regularly receiving from Persia for the Emperor.[4]

The ambassador was suitably entertained at Multan by Tarbiat Khān, who presented him with a purse of Rs 5,000.[5] In Lahore Khalilullah Khān gave a grand banquet to which

---

[1] Qisas ff.142 b, see also the Shāh's letter to Budāq - Munshāt-i-Tāhir, ff. 67-69 b.

[2] For Budāq's appointment see Qiṣaṣ ff.142.

[3] Muntakhibul Lubāb II, p.126.

[4] Alamgīrnāma, 609.

[5] Muntakhibul Lubāb II, 126.

the gentry of the Punjab were invited.[1] In addition to the purse of Rs 20,000/- he gave the ambassador 400 silver trays full of specialities of the Punjab and 700 trays full of sweets, halvas and 'attar'. Many other valuable presents such as expensive clothes, etc. were presented to him by other officers. When the ambassador reached Serai Bawali, he was ordered to rest there in the garden of Shalimār and to present his credentials on the third of Shawwal.[2] There can be little doubt that Aurangzeb so timed the ambassador's arrival in Delhi that he should be present at the ʿEidgāh during the ʿeid ul-fitar celebration, when almost the entire muslim male population of the city would be present for prayer and festivity after the abstinence of Ramazan.

Aurangzeb wanted to impress the population of Delhi, which was, as Bernier tells us, distinctly pro-Dara, and had demonstrated its sympathy for him by open lamentation at his fate and stoning of his betrayer. He wished to make evident that with the recognition of his government by Persia the last hope of those who depended on foreign intervention had disappeared.

The Persian ambassador met the Emperor for the first time informally at the ʿEidgah with the populace gazing

---

1 ʿAlamgirnāma, 610.

2 Māʾasir-i-ʿAlamgīri, 35.

at them. A public audience was arranged in the Dīwān-i-'Ām for the third of Shawwal[1] and he was conveyed through the city in a big procession, attended by Saif Khān, Asad Khān Multa-fit Khān and other nobles. Cavalry and troops lined the sides of the route he followed and the city was gaily decorated.[2] The ambassador's bodyguard of 500 handsome horsemen were much admired by the populace.[2]

All Indian historians are agreed that he performed kornish, but Manucci has given a cock-and-bull story about his being compelled to perform Sijda.[3] Bernier, who was an eye witness, says that he saluted the Emperor in the Persian fashion and delivered the Shāh's letter.[4] The letter[4] began with praise of the Prophet and his son-in-law. A hope was expressed that Aurangzeb by gracing the throne of the House of Tīmūr would strengthen the foundations of the Empire and wield the enemy-killing sabre. It reminded Aurangzeb of Tahmāsp's help to Humāyūn and of the old friendship between the two houses, which made it necessary for him to send an embassy and messages of congratulation. A few words about his siege of Qandahār and the misunderstanding it had caused were also added.

---

[1] Muntakhibul Lubāb says fourth, but both 'Alamgirnāma and Maasir say third. Eid festivity lasts for two days usually.

[2] Storia II, 51.

[3] ibid. 147.

[4] Bernier says that Aurangzeb raised the letter to his head and then passed it on to a noble who broke the seal. Munshiati Tahir ff.32-35 b.

also added. A promise of help whenever an occasion arose was also conveyed. The letter closed with the following remarks: "Some important proposals necessary for strengthening the old friendship have been entrusted to the tongue of our ambassador, to which we hope Your Majesty will give due attention."[1] The patronising tone of the letter must have considerably displeased Aurangzeb. A few days later Aurangzeb received another letter from the Shāh.[2]

Haveli Rustam Khān on the bank of the river was lavishly furnished at the government's expense and the ambassador was lodged there. ʿAziz Bakhshi now took over from Abdāl Beg the duties of Mehmandar. On the next day the ambassador presented Nazr Qulī and Ahmad Beg, two courtiers of Shāh ʿAbbās, and Zain-ul-abdin his mulla; all of them were suitably rewarded. On the seventh of Shawal he displayed the Shāh's presents. There were 66 arab and gilan horses, a diamond worth sixty thousand rupees, and in all the gifts were valued at four lakhs an

---

[1] It is not difficult to see that these proposals related to the Shāh's desire for the preservation of the States of the Deccan, an interference which Aurangzeb much resented and was the main cause of subsequent misunderstanding.

[2] Munshāti Tāhir, ff.13.
Sir Yadunāth Sarkār has made a mistake (iii,122 footnote) the smaller letter was not brought by Budaq's fore-runner of 24th March 1661, but was sent to India after Budāq's departure, see Qisas ff.143. Budaq also got a letter from the Shāh, where the Shāh does not seem pleased with the course of negotiations. ff. 67-69b, ibid.

twenty thousand rupees. Budāq also gave many presents on his own behalf. A robe of honour and rupees sixty thousand were bestowed on him.[1]

At the time of his departure a further sum of one lakh of rupees, another robe of honour, a horse with a golden saddle and an elephant with a silver howdah were bestowed on him. In all he got rupees five lakh in cash and many presents. Rs 3,500/- were bestowed on the members of his suite.

Aurangzeb showed special favours to this ambassador as his mission had very important political significance. So far none of the muslim sovereigns except Subhan Quli had sent the customary embassy of congratulation. Aurangzeb knew that they would not be slow to follow the Shah's example. His hopes were justified by the arrival of an ambassador from ʿAbdul ʿAzīz Khān, the Amīr of Bukhārā while Budaq was still in India. Budaq's embassy also silenced all those who were still hoping for foreign intervention, especially the Persian faction at the Court

Some misunderstanding seems to have arisen between Aurangzeb and the ambassador towards the end of the latter's stay in India. Aurangzeb ordered the

---

1 ʿAlamgirnāma 623.

2 There was a strong Persian faction at the court. Storia ii, 52.

ambassador's caravan to be stopped and the slaves he had bought in India to be detained[1]. Manucci also alleges that his goods were rigorously searched. None of the Indian historians mention these incidents.*

The Embassy of Tarbiat Khan 1663.

Although Budāq Beg was dismissed after a few months, Tarbiat Khan, the ambassador designate to Persia, did not leave till the beginning of 1073 A.H. An elephant with silver howdah, ten horses, a khilat, one complete golden trapping, a jewelled sword and a dagger were bestowed on him, and his rank was increased from 3,000 to 4,000 horses. [2]

A letter drafted by Dānishmand Khān, Bernier's "Agha" and gifts worth 7 lakhs of rupees were sent for the Shah. The letter[3] was very long and began with the usual prayer expressions of love and compliments. It acknowledged the Shah's letter which was described as "the strengthener of love, friendship and union." A regret was expressed that the old friendship between the two houses was unfortunately interrupted by the unnecessary misunderstanding about Qandahar in the time of Aurangzeb's

---

1 Bernier attributes it to the excessive numbers of slave he had bought, and his servants were alleged to have kidnapped, but this does not justify such stringent measures. It is possible someone aroused Aurangzeb's suspicions that Budaq was carrying a letter from Shahjaha

* For Budaq's embassy see Storia ii, 47-54, 151, 153 and Bernier, 146-151; where certain details not mentioned by Indian historians are supplied.

2 Māasiri Ālamgiri 47.

3 Bahār-i-Sukhan (Or 178) ff.13-24.

"beloved" father.[1] It gave at some length Aurangzeb's achievements and the shortcomings of his brothers, especially Dārā; and tried to impress on the Shāh that the treatment meted out to them was not unjust.[2] Of Tarbiat's mission it said: "As Dudāq Beg, so well acquainted with etiquette, was allowed to return, it was decided that someone who is initiated in manners should be sent to Your Majesty as a result of mutual love. The distinguished Tarbiat Khān, who is an old servant of this house and is acquainted with this Court of Khilafat, was selected for this honourable duty. Many messages of love and union have been entrusted to his tongue."

To the Shāh's boastful offer of help Aurangzeb wrote that he only needed God's help who had favoured him so far with many victories.

It is difficult to find what is the source of information of Sir Yādunāth Sarkār and other historians regarding the cold reception accorded to Tarbiat Khān in Persia.[3] Qiṣaṣ tells us that as soon as the Shāh heard of Tarbiat's arrival through Mansūr Khān, the governor of Qandahār, firmāns were immediately despatched to all governors on the ambassador's route to convey him to the Court with due honours as the ruler of hospitality demanded.

---

1 ibid. ff.16 b.

2 ibid. ff. 19 b.

(3) See in this connection Storia II p 128.

Mirza Hashim - son of Mirzā Muhammad Husain - one of the royal chamberlains, was appointed the official Mehmandar and was sent to Yazd to receive the ambassador. The ambassador reached Isfahan on the 4th Shawal 1075 and, after resting for a few days, was granted an audience and he then presented Aurangzeb's letter. Many awards were bestowed on him by the Shāh and a great banquet was given in his honour. This was followed by an archery competition. Qisas also gives some odes and chronograms composed by the Court poet, Mirza Ma'sud and others.

(After some time the attitude of the Shāh towards Aurangzeb and his ambassador changed. It may here be pointed out that the Shāh probably wanted from Aurangzeb a promise not to annex the kingdoms of Bijāpur and Golcanda but that Aurangzeb resented this interference in his sphere of influence, for the states were considered by the Mughals as their vassals: on the other hand, the Shahs always regarded them as their natural allies to whom they were bound by the ties of religion and culture. The letters of the rulers of the Deccan[2] leave little doubt that they had approached the Shāh to save them from

---

1

خدایگان جهان شاه نوجوان عباس
همای اوج سعادت ز کوکب مسعود
ز نزد والی هندوستان بخدمت شاه
شنید که ایلچی اورنگ زیب را احوال
مدد ستاره توفیق و رهنمائی خضر
ز عقل سال در ورش طلب نمودم گفت

گر پرتو کرم او بجاهل و عام رسید
بزیر سایه شاه فلک مقام رسید
پس از دعا و ثنا کورنش و سلام رسید
ز فیض تربیت او با انتظام رسید
باستان شاه از روی اهتمام رسید
رسول هند پابوس شاه بکام رسید

2 Munshāt-i-Tāhir Wahid, ff. 7b, 39, 41.

threatened extinction. That the Shah contemplated attacking India is further proved by his correspondence and[1] treaty[2] with Ābdul Āziz Khān, for it was necessary to secure Turanian neutrality for the success of his schemes.

Tarbiat Khān was consequently dismissed with an almost insulting letter[3] which blamed Aurangzeb for the anarchy and rebellion prevailing throughout India. A great portion of the letter was devoted to "Shivā's" activities owing to Aurangzeb's weakness and incompetency a reference was made to the murder of his brothers and the imprisonment of his father. This was followed by a religious discussion on Aurangzeb's misbeliefs. He further reminded Aurangzeb that his (Shāh's) House had always been the refuge of the kings of the time, a proof of which existed in the help rendered to Humāyūn, Walī Muhammad and Nazar Muhammad, and now it was his desire to help Aurangzeb by marching with a great army to extinguish the flames of rebellion and misrule in India.

Tarbiat returned in May 1668. Aurangzeb was much displeased with him and did not allow him into his presence for some time. He attributed the failure of

---

1 Munshāāt-i-Tāhir, ff.15.

2 ibid. ff. 17b.

3 Faiyaz-ul-qawānin 389-98.

this mission to Tarbiat's tactlessness[1] and deprived him of his rank.[2] As the Shāh had threatened an invasion of India and Tarbiat had brought back news of the movement of the Persian troops[3], Prince Muazzam and Raja Jaswant Singh were sent with a large army to the frontier.[4] The Shāh, however, died on the 22nd August and the danger of an invasion having blown over, the Prince and the Rājā were recalled.[5] Tarbiat Khan, too, was restored to his position, and on the death of Khan Duran was appointed as the Governor of Orissa.[6]

Aurangzeb's intrigues against the Safavī dynasty have been referred to more fully in his relations with Central Asia. It was largely through his intrigues that Ghilzais became a perpetual source of trouble to Persia and ultimately overthrew the Ṣafavī dynasty.[7]

---

1 Māasir-i-Ālamgiri p.57.

2 Manucci describes many scenes of Aurangzeb's impotent rage (ii, 146), so does John Campbell, another eye-witness, who says that Aurangzeb killed the horses sent by the Shah.

3 Storia II, p.147.

4 Maasir, p.57.

5 Alamgirnama, 984.

6 -do- 1050.

7 Manuccii tells us that Gurghun Khan reported to the Shah that it is impossible to crush the Ghilzais unless the Mughal territory was attacked. Vol.IV, p.271. The same difficulty is experienced by the British in dealing with some nomadic tribes in N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan.

In 1668 Aurangzeb tried to get back Qandahār by means of intrigues and helped Ahmad Khān, the rebel governor of Herāt, in besieging it but the attempt failed.[1]

After Tarbiat Khan's return no further diplomatic intercourse with Persia is on record till after the death of Aurangzeb, when Shāh Husain sent Mīr Murtaza to Farakhsiyar in 1124 A.H.[2]

---

1 For this attempt see Futuhat-i-ʿAlamgiri, ff.133b. For Aurangzeb's correspondence with Hasan Khān, another governor of Herat, see Baha-i-Sukhan.

2 Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb II, p.271. It also says that no ambassador came from Persia after Budāq Beg.

Book II

RELATIONS WITH CENTRAL ASIA.

"Earth which in fragrance embergris excels.
A country fair, where cool, sweet waters flow;
And when the traveller seeks its charms to quit
Its very name commands him not to go!"

Abu 'Alī As-Sajī in praise of Merv.

CHAPTER I.

The ambition to possess Trans-Oxiana burned fiercely in the hearts of the Mughal Emperors. So keen was their interest in those delectable but "wonderfully beautiful" regions that to recover them Bābur went to the length of "sacrificing" his religious scruples. Humāyūn, though he attempted to regain them during his father's lifetime, had later on other misfortunes to reckon with. Akbar was prevented from moving by the great power of ʿAbdullah Khān. Jahāngīr was too lazy to leave the charms of Kashmir and Lahore for a hazardous march through the passes of Hindu-koh. Shāhjahān, in spite of advice to the contrary by such able ministers as Saʿdullah Khān and ʿAlī Mardān, attempted to subdue -

> "The Tartars of Farghana, from the banks
> Of the Jaxartes, men with scant beards
> And close set skull caps, and those wilder hordes
> Who roam o'er Kepchak and northern wastes,"

- with the troops of India, but only succeeded in justifying the name of those mountain ranges by sacrificing

---

(1) Bāburnāma I. (Trans.) p. 81.

(2) An Empire Builder of XVI. Century. p.102.

thousends of Rajpūts.[1]

Aurangzeb, profiting by his own sad experience as the commander-in-chief of his father's forces, had neither part nor lot in Central Asia, and had, like the British Indian Government of to-day, "not a Central Asiatic, but an Indian policy."[2]

As this thesis deals only with the diplomatic relations of the Empire the details of Shāhjahān's fruitless expedition are omitted except in so far as they affected the course of his foreign policy.

Akbar's Relations with Turan.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign diplomatic intercourse was not very frequent with ʿAbdullah Khān, becaus between India and Turan were the kingdoms of Balkh unde Nazr Muḥammad, Badakhshān under Mirzā Sulaimān, and Kabu under Mirzā Ḥakim. With the absorption of the first tw by ʿAbdullah and the letter by Akbar, the frontiers of t two Empires became contiguous, and intercourse more frequent.

The Embassy of Haji Iltamish. 980 A.H. (1572 A.D.)

In 1572 arrived the first embassy from ʿAbdullah Kh Usbeg with a letter and presents. The letter is nowher to be found but Abu'l Fazl as usual gives in his own style the following purport ". . . to recall ancient

---

(1) Muḥammad Yusuf bin Khwāja Bakā tells us that in 106 A.H. when he was accompanying the Embassy to India Waqiānāgār he noticed all along the route piles of human bones.

(2) Sir Stafford Northcote in the House of Commons.

relations and renew friendship in order that with the help of such divine glory he might act vigorously against other princes of Turān. Another object was that he might repose in peace and be without apprehension of the strokes of world-conquering armies."(1) He further says: "For greater security and success he sent presents to Munim Khān Khanan and Mirzā Kokā Khān Azīz, in order that they may exert themselves to lay the foundation of friendship. It is also stated that the ambassador was well received, and returned after a time with presents from Akbar for his sovereign. But in the account of the second embassy from Turan Abu'l Fazl in referring to this embassy says:- "As His Majesty had thoughts of conquering his ancestral lands, no one was sent along with him (Haji Iltamish) in order that the correspondence might be severed."

Second Embassy. 985 A.H.

Another embassy arrived in 1577 A.D. Abu'l Fazl as usual says that the first ambassador Hājī Iltamish, being much impressed with the power of the Empire, induced Abdullah Khān to send another embassy to "the world-conquering Khadev". The purport of 'Abdullah's letter was that Akbar "should lead an expedition from India to Persia in order that they may with united efforts release 'Iraq, Khurāsān

---

(1) Akbarnāma II. p. 534.

(2) Akbarnāma III. p. 296.

and Fars" from the innovators.

So rapidly had Abdullah's power increased that it was now impossible for Akbar to ignore him and he was compelled to send Mirza Fulad on a return embassy with a reply(1) to Abdullah's letter. Akbar wrote, says Abu Fazl, that "the dynasty in question (Safavis) was specially connected with the family of the prophet and on this ground he could not regard the difference in law and religion as sufficient ground for conquest. He was also withheld from such enterprise by old and valued friendship. As in Abdullah Khan's letter the ruler of Iran had not been mentioned with honour H. M. conveyed to him valuable admonition in reproof thereof."

The Embassy of Mirza Fulad.

Akbar was not actuated by any friendly feeling towards Persia but in reality he was much alarmed at the growth of Abdullah Khan's power and territory and did not want, as far as possible, to be a party to his ambitious designs, and moreover a strong Persia was essential to keep the restless Usbegs in their proper place.

The object of Mirza Fulad's mission must have bee

(1) Elliot refers to this letter and says it is in Abu Fazl's Insha daftar IV. Mr Beveridge has rashly assumed that "there is no such daftar". Haidar Balgrami in his Savanih-i-Akbari (OR 1665) mentions daftar IV, but this daftar is not to be found in the Insha as it is. Probably Elliot came across it in some private collection in India.

to get first-hand information about the real power of ʿAbdullah and to explore the possibility of an alliance in case the dissolution of Persia was inevitable. As there could be no other basis for such alliance except sectarian bigotry, Mirzā Fulad was a proper instrument for playing with the religious susceptibilities of the Turanians.

Mirzā Sulaiman in India.

In 1557 Mirzā Sulaimān was compelled to leave the kingdom of Badakhshān by the intrigues of his grandson, Mirzā Shāh-rukh, and his crafty mother, Khānam, and came to India.(2) Akbar and his principal nobles went out of the city to receive him and he was conveyed to the royal palace with great pomp and show. The great respect shown to him was probably due to his association with Babur and Humāyun.(3)

The object of Mirzā's visit was to seek Akbar's help against his grandson, but Akbar was too clever to back a loser.

Embassy from Badakhshān. 1557.

While Mirzā was still in India, Khānam, alarmed by his intrigues, sent Rahīm Beg and Mirzā Ashiq to negotiate a marriage and political alliance with Akbar.

---

(1) Mirzā was a notorious hater of the Shiaʿs. He was subsequently put to death for murdering Mulla Ahmad of Tatta, a noted Shiaʿ, and one of the authors of Tarikh-i-Alafi.

(2) Akbarnamā III. (text) 157. Trans. 222.

(3) For Mirzā's relations with Humāyun see Badāunī I. (Trans.) p. 580.

Akbar, it seems, was not averse to such proposals for Abu'l Fazl says "he made the envoys joyful and then dismissed them".(1) ʿAbdullah Khān and Abdī Khwāja were sent "to soothe and encourage Badakh-Shānis". Badakhshān, apart from its local dissensions and rivalries, was in imminent danger of being attacked by ʿAbdullah Khān Uzbeg, and as Akbar was not sure of his brother's attitude, probably "Sākina Begum was sent to Kābul to give advice to Hakim Mirzā" on this subject.(2)

Second Embassy from Badakhshān, 1579.

The envoys sent to Badakhshān returned in 1579 with Mīr Nizām from Mirzā Shāhrukh and brought Khānum's daughter.

Meanwhile Mirzā Sulaimān, disappointed by Akbar's duplicity, left like all Turanians ostensibly for Haj but in reality to gain foreign help. Some time later he appeared in Persia to seek the help of Shāh Ismaʿil I The Shāh gave him some "Iraqi" troops, but as Ismail di shortly after, Mirzā was deserted by the Persians.

---

(1) Akbarnamā III. p. 296, text 211.

(2) Mirzā Hakīm attacked the Punjab in 1581 but retreat Akbar conquered Kabul but made it over to the siste of Hakim, who subsequently let the Mirzā assume the control after Akbar's retreat. There was possibly some sort of understanding between him and Abdullah for there was exchange of embassies at this time be tween them. See ʿAbdullahnamā.

Shāhrukh had in the meantime appealed for help to Akbar, who actually organised an army under Yusuf Khān, Saʿid Khān and Raja Bhagwāndass in 1580. Sulaiman on being deserted by the Persians appealed to ʿAbdullah Khān Usbeg and Mirzā Hakim;[1] this frightened Shahrukh who suddenly came to terms with his grandfather.

The Embassy of Khwaja Khatib. (1579 A.D.)

There is some confusion between Badauni and Nizamuddin about this embassy. Lowe translates a somewhat ambiguous passage thus:-[2] "In this year an ambassador came from Trans-Oxiana with a letter containing assurances of friendship from ʿAbdullah Khān Usbeg; the Emperor sent Mirzā Fulād Birlas with Khwāja Khatib who was a native of Bukhara to accompany him with presents and gifts. The seal of the letter was as follows:-

> 'When we are friends with one another
> Sea and land are free from confusion and evil.'"

---

(1) Abdullahnamā ff 484b. It is also stated that Mirzā Hakim sent Maulana Nūr-uddin to ʿAbdullah and ʿAbdullah sent Mehr ʿAlī Kokaltāsh, in connection with Badakhshān.

(2) Page 270 Badauni II. (Text)

" درایں سال عبد الله خان اوزبک مصحوب مکتوبی محبت انگیز از ماورا النهر آمد
و میرزا فولاد برلاس را با خواجه خطیب که از آدمی زادهای بخارا بود با تحف و هدایا
همراه او فرستاد ختم نامه برایں بود ع چوں ما دو دوست باشیم با یکدگر
بود بحر و بر ایمن از شور و شر.

Akbar's letter sent with Khwaja Khatīb and Mirzā Fulād is given in Majmua-ul-Inshā (OR 1702) ff 198b. It does not contain the above couplet.

Badauni puts it in the events of the 24th year (987 A.H.
Nizamuddin, however, in the events of the 25th year (988
A.H.) says, "Khwāja Khatīb and Mirzā Fulād were sent to
Trans-Oxiana this year". Although Nizamuddin's dates
are to be accepted with some caution in this case he se
to be correct. The ambiguity is removed if the passage
is translated thus:- "In this year Abdullah Khān Uzbeg'
loving letter came from Trans-Oxiana. He sent (back)
Mirzā Fulad with Khwāja Khatib, who was a native of
Bukhara, with presents and gifts. The letter ended
with . . ."

The Second Embassy of Mirzā Fulad, 988 A.H.

Akbarnamā tells us that Mirzā Fūlad was first sent
to Turan in 985. Very likely he returned in 987 and wa
again sent in 988, as Akbar was mobilizing to help Mirz
Shahrukh and probably wanted to avoid a conflict with
Abdullah. It was therefore necessary to come to some
sort of provisional understanding with regard to Badakh
shān and Qandahār and the object of Mirzā Fūlad's missi
as previously stated, was "to soothe the Turanians". B
it was difficult to soothe ʿAbdullah who was dreaming of
a vast Central Asiatic Empire and hoped to revive the
past glories of those regions. Not only had he designs
on Badakhshān and Balkh but he was watching for a favou
able opportunity to descend on Khurāsān, and to retriev
the terrible disaster that befell Shaibani.

As Qandahār had been a source of perpetual differe

between the Mughals and the Safavis, so was Khurāsān a veritable bone of contention between Persia and the power that ruled Mavarā-un-Nahr. The friction was due considerably to the absence of effective political boundaries between Khurāsān and Mavarā-un-Nahr. One of the oldest Arabic geographers, Ibn Khuradhbih, tells us that a portion of the left bank is included in the boundary of Mavara-un-Nahr.(1) Under the Samanids, Ghaznavids and Timurids both the provinces were one Vilayat. ʿAbdullah Khān consequently considered it as a rightful appendage to his ancestral kingdom, and its occupation by Ismail as mere usurpation.(2) During Tahmāsp's life-time it was difficult to conquer it; after his death for some time his hands were full with the subjugation of Balkh and Badakhshān; he was also afraid of a combination between Akbar and Persia.

Abdullah's Occupation of Badakhshān, 1585.

In 1585 ʿAbdullah Khān, urged on by his more ambitious son ʿAbdul Mumin, suddenly fell on Badakhshān, and both the Mirzās fled to India.(3) Shāhrukh

---

(1) Masālik-wa'l-mamālik. Text and translation by M. Barbier de Maynard, J.Asiatique, 1865. I have also discussed the question with Prof. Gibb, and he too is of the same opinion. See also Balakhi
(2) See p.73-74 Rūzat-ur-Safviyah (OR 3388) for correspondence between Ismāil and Sharbani on the subject of Khurāsān. An abstract of the correspondence is given on ff 177a-178b of ʿAlī bin Nurā's History of Ismāil. (OR 3245)
(3) Col. Malleson says:- "...Akbar heard of the death of his brother at Kābul and that the frontier province of Badakhshān had been overrun by the Usbegs, who also threatened Kabul." p. 131.

subsequently married Akbar's daughter.

Next year this success was followed by the annexation of Balkh, whose ruler Nazr Muhammad, with his three sons Qambar, Shabī and Bāqī, sought refuge at Akbar's court, where suitable mansab were bestowed on them.

Balkh, 1585.

Akbar, it seems, had for some time been contemplating intervention in Central Asiatic affairs.(1) He had no hope of conquering his "ancestral lands" during ʿAbdullah's life-time, but he wanted to save Badakhshān if possible, and thus maintain a sort of buffer state, more or less under his influence. A road fit for wheeled traffic was consequently constructed through the Khyber Pass.(2) This alarmed ʿAbdullah and he occupied Badakhshān before Akbar could move. ʿAbdullah, foreseeing Akbar's intervention, stirred up trouble among the tribesmen of the N.W.Frontier, through his agent Jalālā, the religious fanatic of the tribal country. This Jalālā paid several visits to ʿAbdullah Khān and ʿAbdul Mumin and was probably in their pay. So serious was the situation

---

(1) It was at this time that his brother died and Kabul passed directly under his control (1585 A.D.)

(2) Akbarnāmā III. p. 735.

(3) He was the youngest son of Bāyazīd the leader of the Rosheniyas. For Rosheniyas, see Dr. Leyden's account Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 363.

for a time that Akbar himself had to move to Attock to supervise the operations.[1] It was during these operations that he lost one of his best friends, Raja Birbar[2] For a time even communication with Kabul was interrupted, until Raja Mān Singh gained a victory over the tribes. Even after the victory of ʿAlī Masjid "brave officers" like Mubarak Mohani, Ghāzi Khān, etc., had to be sent to conduct the caravan from Trans-Oxiana in which were Abdullah's ambassador and Nazr Muhammad - the ex-ruler of Balkh. Akbar was at this time afraid of an attack by Abdullah Khān on Kabul and possibly on India[3] Abdullah Khān too on his side was afraid of Akbar's mobilization, and wanted to form an alliance against Persia instead of fighting Akbar.

The Embassy of Nizamud-din Mir Quraish. 993 A.H.

In 1586 A.D., while Akbar was at Attock, ʿAbdullah Khān sent Mir Quraish with presents and a letter. He also sent Habīb, the master pigeon fancier, who was famous

---

(1) Col. Malleson attributes this to the fear of Usbeg invasion.

(2) Akbarnamā III, p.735. Commonly known as Birbal and known to English readers through S. Warman's translation of his witty sayings, jokes, bon-mots, etc.

(3) Elphinstone says "It was probably apprehension of further progress of that formidable neighbour (Abdullah) which chiefly induced him (Akbar) to go in person to Cabul in 1586." p.283, vol.II. I think the fort of Attock too was erected in fear of Turanian invasion, for it was about this time that its building was undertaken seriously, though the proposal was made a few years earlier when Akbar pursued Mirzā Hakim to Kabul.

throughout Turan among pigeon sportsmen - with the choicest pigeons of that country. After some hesitation and delay Akbar received the Mīr on the first of March. Abu'l Fazl says:- "A princely festival was arranged in Dewan Khana which had been recently erected, and the ambassador was exalted by prostrating himself at the holy threshold. He produced before H.M. the rarities of that country." ʿAbdullah's letter is given in Majmaʿ-ul-Insha and Akbar in his reply also discusses all the salient features, and from these it is not difficult to judge the object of this mission. Abu'l Fazl, however, gives the following reason:- "When the world-conquering standards reached the banks of the Indus and the design of marching to Zabulistan became conspicuous and the Khyber Pass which used to be traversed with difficulty by horses and camel had been made passable for wheels, and a bridge had been made over the Indus, there was a tremendous agitation in Turan. From the fear of the rapid march of the world's lord the gates of Balkh were usually kept closed. ʿAbdullah Khān the ruler of Turān had the enlightenment and discernment to have recourse to deprecatory behaviour and tendered supplications. He sent Mīr Quraish who belonged to a noble Syed family . . . "

---

(1) ff 199b (OR 1702) ʿAbdullah justifies his occupation of Badakhshān and says that "Shahrukh attacked his country when he was busy fighting in the Dasht-i-Qibchaq."

ʿAbdullah Khān no doubt was alarmed but Abu'l Fazl has rather exaggerated the Khān's fears.(1) The real fact was that the opportunity for which he had been long waiting was near at hand and he could not afford to have his lifelong dream of conquering Khurāsān shattered by an attack from India. Mir Quraish was consequently sent to gain Akbar's co-operation or, failing that, neutrality, by offering him Zamindawar and Qandahār.

The Embassy of Hakim Hamam and Sadr Jahan, 1586 A.D.

The Turanian ambassador was dismissed with great honours. Hakīm Hamām was sent "to impress on ʿAbdullah Khān the choice qualities of the Emperor. He was also to study the mind of the high and low and report thereon." It seems that while inwardly Akbar had received ʿAbdullah's proposals with favour, outwardly he tried to impress the Khān with his friendly feelings towards Persia. The door of negotiation for an alliance was thrown open by Hakīm Hamām's mission. Mir Sadr Jahān was also sent to offer belated condolence on the death of Sikandar Khān. The delay is explained by Abu'l

---

(1) Whenever there was a movement of Mughal troops in Afghanistan or if the Emperor came to Kabul, the rulers of Trans-Oxiana were alarmed. Imam Quli strongly protested when Shāhjahān came to Kabul in 1629. See Tazkirah-i-Mukim Khani. ff 98.

Fazl:- "But as at times there were thoughts in H.M.'s mind of conquering that country no one was sent."

Akbar sent a long letter,(1) in which with regard to ʿAbdullah's threat to cut off relations owing to the change in Akbar's religion he says:- "With regards to the intimation about stopping letters and intercourse, though in the eyes of reason silence is better than speech, in such matters, yet, we shall overlook this." To impress ʿAbdullah with his religious zeal a desire is expressed to conquer the Portuguese "infidels" who "have lifted up the head of turbulence and have stretch out the hand of oppression upon the pilgrims of holy places - may God increase their (pilgrims) glory."

The following hypocritical remarks are very interesting in the light of the events that followed:- "But as we have heard that some officers of Persia were disloyal to their sovereign and had cast away the firm hand of fidelity, which had been the means of their exaltation, and had committed various improprieties, it passed into our mind that we should appoint to that region one of our sons - from whose forehead there streamed auspicious rays and in whose horoscope w

---

(1) This letter, the author of Majmua-ul-Inshā tells us was drafted by Hakim Abu'l Fath, but the compiler of Abu'l Fazl's letters, thinking it to be one of his composition, included it in Mukatabat-i-Alami. See Majmua ff 202.

the lights of justice - and not undertake any work until that was disposed of. At present when the Sultān of Turkey, disregarding the treaties and agreements made by his father and grandfather, has looked to the ostensibly feeble condition of Persia and has several times sent his troops there, we shall, passing over the circumstances of deviation and looking to the relationship of that dynasty to the prophet, proceed thither and help them. Assuredly ancient things be borne in mind, especially at this time, when we hear the ruler of Persia has dispatched able men of that country with presents and with prayers for help. It befits our sublime spirit that we should fling out the reins of interest towards ʿIrāq and Khurāsān." An appeal is also made for Abdullah's co-operation in this work and hope is expressed of their meeting in Persia. About Hakīm Hamām he says:- "... in your noble audience, it will be as if we and you were conversing directly with one another."(1)

In fact the threat of help to Persia was a direct challenge to ʿAbdullah, and the words attributed

(1) For the reception of Ḥakīm Hamām in Turan see Abdullahnamā II. ff 485, where it is stated, a cordial reception was accorded to him; full details of negotiations are also given.

to the Sultān were probably indirectly applicable to the Khān as well. This challenge was a sort of sanction behind the negotiations. There is no doubt that agreement was concluded with the Khān on the division of Persia, for Abu'l Fazl in his letter to the Hakīm says:- "... H.M. has turned his attention to the conquest of Turan but is prepared to change the course of his conquest towards the islands of Ferang if a satisfactory treaty is forthcoming (from Abdullah) without any further delay."(1)

Return of Hamam, 1591.

That the agreement was reached is proved by the following remarks in connection with Hakīm Hamām's return. "He conveyed the praises and supplications of the ruler of Turān who represented that the conquest of Herat and Khurāsān were due to the blessed influence of the world's lord."

In his second letter Akbar accuses ʿAbdullah of breaking the treaty. Obviously one of the clauses was that the Turanians should desist from their intrigues among the tribesmen of the N.W. Frontier of India. ʿAbdul Mūmin in his letter to Murad III also refers to this alliance in the following words:- "The Pādshāh

(1) Mukātabat-i-ʿAllāmī. p. 197-8.

of India has strengthened the bonds of friendship with this magnificent House by sending Hakim Haman one of his chosen courtiers with presents, gifts and a loving letter and has formed an alliance."(1) All doubts are removed by the following passage from Imam Quli's letter to Jahāngīr:- "As between the noble kings, dwellers of Paradise, ʿAbdullah Khān and Akbar Padshah, a treaty and alliance for the conquest of the road to holy places had occurred and due to this religious alliance and unity between the sovereigns a great portion of Iraq and Persia and the whole of Khurāsān were conquered. . ."(2)

It seems ʿAbdul Mumin was not satisfied with the terms of this alliance for they restricted his aggressive activities both in Persia and on the Indian border. He also suspected Akbar of having financed Muhammad Zamān's rebellion in Badakhshān and so once more he started his old game among the tribesmen.

---

(1) This letter was sent shortly after the conquest of Khurāsān with Muhammad Quli. The letter is reproduced in Tazkirah-i-Mukim Khani. ff 53.

(2) No better example of history repeating itself is to be found, if this Alliance is compared with the broad principles of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. Akbar, though he entered into an alliance with the Usbegs, was at the same time, like England, vitally interested in the preservation of Persia as an independent state.

Abdul Mumin's Envoy.

He also dispatched an envoy to Akbar with a letter. Akbarnamā records his accidental drowning in the Jehlum. It is also stated that though the Khān's letter perished with the envoy, rumours said that it contained a demand for Badakhshāni Amiaqs who had come to the Court.(1)

The Embassy of Ahmad Ali Ataliq, 1591.

With Hakim Hamam and Sadrjahan, ʿAbdullah Khān sent Ahmad ʿAlī Ataliq with a letter and presents. ʿAbdullah must have been aware of Yadgar Sultan's departure and the object of his mission, consequently we find someone permanently representing him in India, for when in 1594 ʿAhmad ʿAlī died,(2) his place was soon taken by Maulvi Hussain, who also brought a letter from the Khān apologising for ʿAbdul Mumin's improper demand of Aimaqs.(3) Maulvi, too,

---

(1) Akbarnamā III. p.871.
Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq ʿAlī in his commentary of the Nawal Kishore edition of Akbarnamā says that "Akbar had the envoy drowned because the letter asked for Akbar's daughter in marriage." It is difficult to guess the source of his information for no contemporary history makes this allegation. Iqbalnamā only says that Abdul Mumin's letter contained improper things. Some historians regard it an act of insole[nce] on his part to have sent an embassy, but such embas[s]sies were quite common in those days. Akbar himself received two embassies from heirs apparent during their father's lifetime before this incident. It i[s] however interesting to speculate whether such envoy['s] person too was covered by the diplomatic immunity s[o] greatly observed in the East in those days. Anothe[r] interesting point raised by this embassy was the question of refugees being extraditable. ADD 2725[?] gives an extract from Akbar's letter to Abdullah where Akbar says that his court is "the Asylum of t[he] World" and that he "could not surrender anyone who took shelter there."

(2) Akbarnamā III. p.881. (3) Ibid. p. 885.

died in Lahore next year when Akbar was away in Kashmir.[1] Tazkash-i-Mukim Khani informs us that at this time Abdul Mumin was openly plotting against his father and probably Abdullah's policy of friendship with Akbar was not acceptable to the young hothead. His old friend Jalala paid him another visit and, though Abu'l Fazl tells us that he was not well received, yet his return was followed by a great tribal rising which was not limited to Rosheniyas. An expedition sent to Tirah via Khyber under Qulij Khan being unsuccessful, another under Hussain Beg Umiri had to be sent via Bangash. Zain Khān Kokā too was sent to Kabul with a large force.[2]

Embassy of Khwaja Ashraf.

Khwaja Ashraf Naqshbandī was sent to Tūrān to protest against Abdul Mumin's activities. Shaikh Hussain of Lucknow accompanied the mission as the custodian of presents. It seems Abdullah Khān in his letter had suggested that the Hindu-koh should be the boundary between the two Empires. He must have also accused Akbar of breaking the treaty for Akbar in his reply[3] says:- "It would have been

(1) Badāunī (II.p.387) tells us that there was a great epidemic in Lahore at this time.
(2) Akbarnamā III. p.1050-52.
(3) The reply is given on Page 4 of Mukatabāt-i-Alami, and is also reproduced in Akbarnamā. Von Noer ref to Abdullah's letter, but he does not seem aware o the political alliance. See Mrs Beveridge's Life of Akbar II. 227.

fitting for us to begin the exposition of the ways of peace, and the demonstration of the rights of friendship, seeing that since the commencement of the dawn of this auspicious morning the whole of our righteous practice has been - contrary to the ways of former rulers - to follow the path of amity and association with the various nations of mankind. As Your Majesty has entered on this subject, it is proper that at this time you should give your attention to instances of such conduct. For example, when at this time the ruler of Persia, relying upon former ties, sent Yadgar Sultān Shāmlu to us to ask for help, we did not consent." He goes on about Shahrukh's unsuccessful request for a fief in Kabul, Qandahār, the rebellion in Badakhan and other examples of his good faith. About the treaty he says:- "As the keeping of one's word is indispensable to a great mind, we desired that when the treaty of peace had once been made, it should be preserved."

It seems ʿAbdullah Khān had protested against the mobilization of troops and the continued presence of Akbar near the Indus, for Akbar says:- "Although the climate and hunting of this country are favourable to us, we have determined to proceed to Agra so that the mouths of the praters should be shut."

Akbar also expresses regret on the death of Abdulla ambassadors, and the accidental drowning of Abdul Mumin' "courier".

About the treaty obligation he says:- "The glorious compact and agreement which has been ratified by skilful ambassadors one after another is fixed on our mind."(1)

About ʿAbdullah's projects for further conquest he says:- "What you have written about certain expeditions having been postponed till the arrival of Ahmad Ali has been understood." The letter closes with these remarks:- "May every desire of your heart be accomplished. Every assistance due from us will be rendered."

Before Khwāja Ashraf's return both ʿAbdullah Khān and ʿAbdul Mūmin died, and Akbar immediately reverted to his old policy of friendship towards Persia for he had hopes of profiting from the civil war in Trans-Oxiana. He sent help to Badiuzzama,(3) but he had been captured

---

(1) Akbar would have preferred to have a buffer state between Turan and India for in the above letter he says so.

His policy was almost identical with that of England in this respect.

(2) As ʿAbdullah's letter is nowhere forthcoming it is difficult to speculate exactly what these expeditions were, unless one accepts Imām Qulī's version. It is probable ʿAbdullah contemplated conquering the whole northern Persia, right up to the Turkish frontier thus "clearing the way to the holy places." That Akbar was against the total extinction of the Safavi dynasty is abundantly clear from his attitude all through the negotiations with ʿAbdullah.

(3) He was a son of Fakhrunnisa Begum, half-sister of Akbar.

and executed before the help could reach him. This act was the cause of unfriendly relations with Bāqī Khān and later when one Abdi Khwāja, who had instigated an unsuccessful attempt on Baqi's life, fled to India he was well received.(1)

Unfortunately owing to Salīm's attitude Akbar's dreams of conquering the "ancestral lands" could not be realised.

It may be here pointed out that Akbar's Central Asiatic policy was identical with the British policy until the beginning of the War, for in spite of his dreams of conquering the "ancestral lands" he all along followed an Indian and not a Central Asiatic policy.

---

(1) Akbarnāmā 1247.

CHAPTER II.

Like all the sovereigns of his house, even the happy-go-lucky Jahāngir was not immune from the wild dreams of conquering his "ancestral lands".(1) He was, however, too lazy to follow an ambitious foreign policy anywhere. Even the usual relation with the rulers of Māvarā-un-Nahr were not maintained, due probably to his desire to be more closely allied to Persia.

Before coming directly to Jahāngir's relations with Turan a few words may be said about the dynasty that was ruling there then.

Astar-khanis. In 1567 Yar Muhammad Khan, driven from his khānate by the advancing Russians, sought refuge in Trans-Oxiana. Iskandar Khān gave his daughter Zuhrā Khānum in marriage to Yar Muhammad's son Jānī Khan,(2) who later on distinguished himself in the wars of his brother-in-law ʿAbdullah and was after the conquest of Khurāsān made the

---

(1) See Tuzk I. (Trans.) p. 26, where he expresses a hope of one day acquiring these regions.

(2) Lahuri I. p.218, wrongly states that she was married to Yar Muhammad. See also Howorth II. Div. II. p. 744, 874. Sykes refer to this in most confusing manner. He further states thar Jānī was offered the throne of Bukhārā aft the murder of Iskandar Khan. Iskandar died a natural death after a long and prosperous reign and was succee by his son ʿAbdullah Khan-the greatest of the Shaibanid who in his turn was succeeded by ʿAbdul Mumin. It was af ʿAbul Mumin's murder that the throne was offered to Jan Sykes does not seem to be aware of the existence of ʿAbdullah and ʿAbdul Mumin. See Sykes II p 210,(1930 Ed)

governor of Nishāpur. With the death of ʿAbdul Mūmin the last of the Shaibanides,[1] the unfortunate land of Trans-Oxiana was once more plunged into a terrible civil war.

ʿAbbās who had been biding his time occupied the whole of Khurāsān and ever since Mashhad - that spiritual home of the Abbasids, and the resting place of the patron saint of Khurāsān - has been the new Mecca of Shiʿis. The amirs of Bukhara in their helplessness approached Jānī Muḥammad Khān to accept the throne, but he declined on the grounds that though he was a descendent of Chingiz yet his son Dīn Muḥammad, being related to the Shaibānī family, had a better right.[2] Dīn Muḥammad, a few days[3] after his selection, fell in a battle with ʿAbbās near Herat, and his two sons, Imām Qulī and Nazr, made their escape, thanks to the pluck of Nazr's mother. Dīn Muhammad was succeeded by his brother Bāqi Muḥammad, who frustrated ʿAbbās' designs to subjugate Trans-Oxiana by inflicting a terrible defeat on the Persians, from whence

---

(1) Properly speaking they were ʿAbdul Khairis. For coming of Yār Muḥammad see Bahr-ul-asrār. (I.O.L. 575) ff 38.

(2) Tazkirah-i-Mukīm Khānī. ff 63.

(3) For Dīn Muḥammad's death see Bahr: ff 55.

the Shāh barely escaped with his life. After Baqi's death, the Shāh's attempt to interfere once more in the affairs of Turan, by helping Wali Muhammad, was also unsuccessful.(1)

In 1611 A.D. Imām Qulī ascended the throne of
1020 A.H. Bukhara, and in a fit of generosity assigned the Vilayat of Balkh to his younger brother Nazr Muhammad - an act which he lived to regret. For the first ten years of his reign there is no record of any diplomatic intercourse with the Court of Lahore. In the beginning of 1621 the mother of Imām Qulī Khān sent to Nurjahān a letter "containing expressions of good will and dues of acquaintanceship."

The Embassy of Khwaja Nasir. 1031 A.H.

Next year Nurjahān in return sent Khwaja Nasir, an old and trusted servant of Jahāngir, with a letter and some "rarities" of India.(2)

This exchange of civilities led to further relations and shortly after Imām Qulī sent a regular embassy with a letter and presents. It is not difficult to see why Khwaja Nasir was sent in 1621, for at this time relations with Persia were becoming more and more strained, and

---

(1) See Maasir-i-Jehangiri ff 53, and ~~Matla~~ Bahr-ul-asrar ff 96.

(2) Tuzk II. p.205.

Jahāngir could only look to the Turanians for support in case of an open war. It is not improbable that Imam Quli too, on his side, sent the first ambassador to warn Jahāngir against the impending attack and to pave the way for further negotiations.(1) No mention of these events is to be found directly in any Indian history, they all try to make out that Jahāngir was quite unprepared and blame the Shāh for his treacherous attack on an old friend. There can be little doubt that the Shāh was carrying on vigorous intrigues in the Deccan and on the N.W. Frontier while Jahāngir was at the same time taking some precautionary measures, but the internal state of the Empire was so bad, owing to Nurjahān's intrigues, that nothing very much could be accomplished.(2) Jahāngir, possibly in one of his drinking bouts, was inadvertent enough to enquire from the ambassador about Imam Quli's beloved, which enraged the Turanian, who replied that

---

(1) It has been explained in Jahāngir's relations with Persia that Trans-Oxiana too was at this time threatened with a Persian invasion due to the complications following the Usbeg attack on the fort of Marghab a few years earlier. See Ālam-arai Ābbāsi.

(2) It was about this time that Pietro Dello Valle wrote: "...his whole Empire is govern'd at this day by her." This opinion is supported by Kamgar Hussain who says: "At this time her power and influence exceeded even the bounds of imagination and possibility."

that his master was free from earthly desires and looked down on worldly passions. At this Jahāngir is said to have smiled, and remarked ironically:- "What has your master seen of the world that it has filled him with such disgust?"(1)

The Embassy of Mir Birka, 1622.

Shortly after this incident Jahāngir sent Mir Sayyid Birka on a return embassy to Turan.(2) The object of this embassy is nowhere stated, but apparently it was now Jahāngir's desire to form an alliance against Persia; but Imam Quli was so offended with the incident referred to above that for six months he did not grant an audience to Mīr. After this he was only received informally during hunting. The Khān bestowed all the presents on his servant Rahim - much to the surprise of the ambassador. Next morning Mīr presented a jewelled sword on behalf of Jahāngīr as a personal present for the Khān. When Imam Quli tried to draw the sword it could only be drawn from its scabbard with great difficulty; at this he remarked to the ambassador:- "Your swords are very difficult to draw."(3) "Only this one," replied

(1) See Tazkirah-i-Mukimi Khāni. ff 92.

(2) Maasir-i-Jehāngirī. ff 143b.

(3) This was an allusion to Jahāngīr's project to conquer Trans-Oxiana. See Tazkirah. ff 96.

the ambassador, "because it is a sword of peace; had it been a sword of war it would have leapt out from the scabbard." This fine repartee pleased the Khān, and he became very friendly with the ambassador. Mir Birka was dismissed after a few years with great honour and Khwaja Abdur Rahim(1) and Khwaja Hassan were sent to India by the Khān as his ambassadors.(2) The ambassadors were received with great pomp and show by Jahāngir, probably to impress Aqā Muhammad the Persian ambassador. Tāz Khān received them at Kabul and gave a magnificent entertainment. Bahādur Khān Usbeg(3) was sent with a robe of honour and a jewelled dagger. Iqbalnamā says:- "His Majesty thought the coming of Khwaja auspicious and ordered all the great nobles and ministers to go out and receive him. Up to now no one so exalted and holy like the Khwaja had come to India."(4) Jahāngir exempted the Khwaja from all the court etiquette for ambassadors.(5) Rs.30,000 in cash, another robe of

Khwaja Abdur Rahim

(1) Maāsir-ieJahāngiri. ff 207.
(2) Rahim was the chief ambassador and his brother Hassan was his assistant. He was a descendent of Imam Jaffer Sādiq and was a son of the Murshid of ʿAbdullah Khān who was the head of Naqshbandis.
(3) He was the governor of Meshhad under ʿAbdul Mumin, but after his death came to India.
(4) P. 612.
(5) Lahauri tells us that "whenever he had an audience with the king, he was ordered to sit near the throne and t... became more distinguished than the greatest nobles." Vol. I. p.193.

honour and an elephant with silver howdah were bestowed on him. Nurjahān sent him fourteen silver trays full of delicacies and sweets in vessels of gold and all the vessels were bestowed on him.

The ambassadors brought a letter[(1)] in which the Khān says a great deal about the noble and esteemed descent of his ambassador. It also alluded to the old anti-Persian treaty in the following words:-[(2)] "As between the noble kings - dwellers of Paradise - ʿAbdullah Khān and Akbar Pādshāh a treaty and an alliance for the conquest of the road to the holy places had occurred, and due to this religious alliance and unity, a great portion of Iraq and Persia, and the whole of Khurāsān, was conquered and up to this day the swords of the soldiers of Turan are stained with the blood of the braves of Iran. After his death (ʿAbdullah's) my noble father tasted the cup of martyrdom in the course of a battle near Herat leaving an obligation on me to avenge his death by invading Persia. Now that Your Majesty has also decided to follow this path of sunnat and the precedent of your illustrious father, this noble task can be best accomplished together."

(1) Māsir-i-Jahāngiri. ff 207.

(2) A portion of this letter has already been quoted.

The ambassadors were in India during the disturbanc which followed Jahāngīr's death, and witnessed the coronations of Shahryār, Bulāqī and Shāhjahān. ʿAbdur Rahīm died in India and Shāhjahān ordered Afzal Khān to arrange a befitting funeral. So great was the Khwaja's influence with Jahāngīr that on his recommendation the offence of ʿAbdullah Khān Firoz Jang was pardoned.(1)

Jahāngīr's death and Nazr Muhammad's indiscretion altered the situation considerably, and Shāhjahān did not adopt an offensive policy against Persia(2) though he attempted to form an alliance with the Turks and Turanians a little later.

---

(1) Qazviniff 150, Lahuri I. p. 193.

(2) See in this connection Lahuri I. p.215-216, and Qazvini, ff 150-151.

CHAPTER III.

Shāhjahān being the most ambitious sovereign of his house, it was natural that the wild dreams of conquering the "ancestral lands" should reach their culminating point in his time.

His reign opened with an unfortunate incident which for the first time openly disturbed the amicable relation existing between the two countries ever since the treaty of friendship between 'Abdullah and Akbar. Nazr Muhammad the restless and ambitious brother of the peaceful and generous Imām Qulī, unable to satiate his lust for conquest in the north, decided to violate the frontiers established by the above treaty, and to descend on the province of Kabul.(1) He had overestimated the disturbances following Jahāngīr's death, and a recent setback of the Mughal troops on the N.W. Frontier of India. He had also expected an easy conquest, but as it came to pass he had been reckoning without his host. At the

(1) See Bahr-ul-Aswar. ff 200.

very outset, his plans were upset by the gallant resistance of the border outpost of Zuhak under Khanjar Khān. Unable to reduce it, he decided on storming Kabul before the arrival of reinforcements but here too the besieged offered a stubborn resistance and on the approach of a relieving force under Lashkar Khān, Nazr Muhammad beat a hasty retreat. More reinforcements were subsequently sent under Mahabat Khān.(1)

The Embassy of Hakim Haziq and Sadr-Jahan, 1038 A.H.

No mention of this attack is made by Muhammad Yusuf in Tazkirah, but the Indian histories supply full details and mention the arrival of a swift courier with an apologetic letter from Imam Quli.(2) Shāhjahān, not being quite secure, took advantage of this olive branch, and in 1628 sent Hakim Haziq and Sadr Jahan with presents worth 1½ lakh of rupees. He also dismissed Sadiq and Hassan, the son and brother of the late Khwāja Abdur Rahim. It is possible he was looking forward to a day when conditions in Persia would permit an attempt for the reconquest of Qandahār. The letter sent with Hakim consequently expressed a hope for "a lasting alliance on religious grounds."(3)

---

(1) Lahuri I. p.206. It is surprising that the history of Ashtar Khani's, Tazkirah-i-Mukimkhani does not mention Nazr Muhammad's attack on Kabul and dispatch of a courier.

(2) Bahr-ul-israr however mentions it on ff 202.

(3) The letter is given by Qazvini ff 150. For this embassy see Lahuri I. p.318.

Although he adopted a conciliatory attitude towards Imam Quli, yet he supplemented it with a hostile demonstration against Nazr Muhammad at the frontier outpost of Barniyan in May 1629, for he was not satisfied with the peaceful intention of the Khān, whom he suspected of intriguing among the tribesmen of N.W.Frontier through the governor of Kalmard.

Next year Hakim Haziq returned with a friendly letter from the Khān, but Sadr-Jahan was left behind. Nazr Muhammad also sent an ambassador with presents worth Rs.50,000 in addition to many horses, camels, mules, etc. Shāhjahān bestowed Rs.30,000 on Waqas, and Rs.10,000 on his son Mumin. The object of the embassy was to apologise for the Khān's attack on Kabul.

Embassy of Waqas Haji.

In February 1633 Shāhjahān in return sent Tarbiat Khān to Balkh.[1] A letter written by Afzal Khān on behalf of Shāhjahān was also sent. It acknowledged the apologies sent through Haji Waqas, but a regret was expressed that such an unwarranted attack should have tak place on a friendly sunni power. Satisfaction was also expressed at the Khān's offers of help for punishing th Qizilbashs. An assurance is conveyed that action will

Embassy of Tarbiat Khān.

(1) Qazvini. ff 265. Lahuri I. p.465-72.

be taken when the appointed hour arrives. The letter was full of religious bias which Shāhjahān was trying to exploit in support of his designs against Persia.

The Embassy of Na'ubhar Beg, 1044 A.H.

In 1635 A.D. Tarbiat Khān returned with an ambassador from Nazr Muhammad who brought presents worth Rs.70,000 and the usual supply of horses, mules and camels. He was dismissed after a while with a robe of honour and Rs.20,000. Some rewards were also bestowed on his many relations.

The Embassy of Mirak Hussain.

Shāhjahān in return sent Mirak Hussain with presents worth 1½ lakhs of rupees, a letter and an elephant with silver howdah to Nazr Muhammad.(1)

Shortly after Ali Mardan's surrender of Qandahār, Shāhjahān sent Prince Shujā and Khān Durān with a large body of troops to Kabul as a precaution against Shah Safi's expected attack. In 1639 the Emperor himself moved to Kabul. These movements frightened Nazr Muhammad and he appealed to Imam Quli for help. Indian histories are emphatic that the Emperor had at this time no hostile intentions against Balkh, but the historians of Central Asia do not agree with this, and allege that Shāhjahān, over-estimating the differences between Imam Quli and

---

(1) Lahuri I. part II. p.104

Nazr, considered it an opportune moment to launch his attack on Balkh.(1) As, however, Imam Quli forgave his brother and came to Balkh and from there sent Haji Mansur(2) to Shāhjahān with a letter in which he said:- "Although friendly relations have existed between the two houses from time immemorial, yet if the Shah disregarding old friendship has decided on an attack we and our brother are prepared to receive him." It is further stated that, frightened by this united front, Shāhjahān repented of his rashness and wrote back:- "I had only come to Kabul for hunting but if my brothers do not like it I will go back."(3) Lahuri, however, says:- "Nazr Muhammad, frightened at the movement of Imperial troops towards Afghanistan, had recourse to deprecatory behaviour and sent Haji Mansur with presents, etc., etc."(4)

Whatever secret intention Shāhjahān might have had he now adopted a conciliatory attitude, due, probably, more to Shah Safi's expected attack on Qandahar - which

---

(1) Tazkirah-i-Mukimkhani. ff 97.

(2) Ibid. ff 98.

(3) Tazkirah (ff 99) says that Shāhjahān went back to Ind and Imam Quli, after staying at Balkh for a while, a returned to Bukhara. A long description of Imam Quli reception at Balkh is also given.

(4) Lahuri II. p.152-155.

then seemed very imminent - than to a combination of forces by Nazr and Imam Quli.[1]

Embassy of Saleh Daster, 1050.

Next year Nazr Muhammad sent an ambassador to Dārā Shikoh with presents and a letter. The ambassador was also received by Shāhjahān.[2] The object of this embassy is nowhere given, but it seems Nazr Muhammad was again intriguing against his brother, who had now almost lost his eyesight, and Nazr probably wanted to gain Shāhjahān's support in case of civil war.

Embassy of Usbeg Khwaja, 1050.

Imam Quli also sent Usbeg Khwaja with a letter and gifts. Probably the object of this embassy was to counteract Nazr's intrigues.

Embassy of Mir Birka.

Mir Birka, that old and versatile diplomat, was once again sent to Turan, apparently on a return embassy, but in fact to study the real state of affairs. Now that Qandahār had been recovered, there was no longer any need to be friendly with the Turanians; on the contrary the designs to conquer Mavara-un-Nahr were put

---

(1) This is supported by Russian historians who say:- "...mais Schāh-Dejehān qui pendant son séjour dans cette ville (Kabul) avait vu de près les difficultés de cette expédition, y avait déjà renonce; il répondit à l'ambassadeur qu'il n'avait jamais songé à la guerre qu'il n'était venu que pour inspecter ses provinces et qu'il allait bientôt retourner aux Indes." Supplement a L'Histoire General des Huns, des Turcs et des Mongols. St. Petersbourg, 1824. p.42.

(2) Lahuri II. p.192.

into active operation. Imam Quli must have seen through Shāhjahān's double game, for in spite of Mir's diplomacy he abdicated in favour of Nazr Muhammad[1] and on the third of November, 1641, left for Mecca to avoid civil war. The people of Bukhara, however, did not accept Nazr Muhammad's rule in the same spirit of resignation as his brother had done. There was open rebellion under Baqiyuz the ataliq of Nazr's son, Behram Sultan. Abdul Aziz was sent to oppose him, but he also joined the rebels.

Shāhjahān watched these events with malicious pleasure, and started mobilizing troops under the command of Asālat Khān.[2] In the summer of 1645 he suddenly captured Kahmard on the advice - it is alleged - of Khalil Beg, the commander of the fort of Ghoiband. Further operations were delayed, however, owing to a tribal rising in Khyber which was promptly put down by Raja Jaswant Singh.[3] Meanwhile in Trans-Oxiana Abdul

---

(1) Tazkirah tells us that he was present in the great mosque of Bukhara when Khutba was for the first time read in Nazr's name (31.10.1641) and witnessed the great lamentation of his people.

(2) Lah II p 534 - 56

(3) Lahūri II. p.456.

Azis gradually got the upper hand against his father, who, finding himself in a desperate position, had no other alternative except to approach his old enemy Shāhjahān for help.(1) Shāhjahān received Nazr Muhammad's envoy with great show of friendship, and in course of an audience on the 11th January, 1646, granted the Khān's request for help by sending a favourable reply to his "petition".(2)

The Campaign of Balkh(3) 1646.

Prince Murad was appointed to the chief command, but in fact the real arrangements were in the hand of Ali Mardan Khān. Other tried officers like Qulij Khān, Raja Jai Singh, Debi Singh, Najabat Khān, Rustam Khān, Rajrup, etc., etc., were all ordered to the front with their full strengths. Success was very rapid in the beginning, and fort after fort fell, till Asālat Khān on the 22nd June occupied Qunduz, thus reviving the memories of Babur, whose soul must have felt elated at the success of his descendant at a place around which the tangled skein of his fortune was so often torn and rewoven. At this time Shāhjahān sent a letter to Prince

---

(1) Khuld-i-Barin, ff 183; Tahir Wahid, ff 56b; Qisas-i-Khakani, ff 52b.
(2) Lahuri II. p.530-532.
(3) A complete account of these campaigns is given by Muhammad Saleh Kambuh in a special history of this expedition. OR 1683. It has been the chief source of my information for the following pages.

Murad to congratulate him on the success of his campaign, and instructing him to be very careful in his treatment of Nazr Muhammad. A sentence about Balkh is capable of double meaning, and, in the light of subsequent events, contained a veiled hint about the necessity of occupying that city.

Occupation of Balkh.

When Murad and Ali Mardan reached the vicinity of Balkh, they sent Ishaq Beg with Shāhjahān's letter to Nazr Muhammad. Ishaq, it is alleged, noticed certain unusual measures of defence in the fort, and advised the Prince to occupy it forthwith. Next morning Murad moved his camp just outside the city walls. Nazr Muhammad, much alarmed, sent Churchak Beg with a letter; but Murad insisted on his personal appearance. Nazr Muhammad again excused himself, and sent his two sons Behram and Subhān Quli. Murad still unsatisfied occupied the city and once again sent an invitation to Nazr Muhammad to come out of the citadel and meet him. Nazr, suspecting a trap, escaped with his two sons Subhan and Qutlaq, while Bahram and Abdur Rahim were detained by the Mughals. Murad made a state entry into the city on the 7th July, 1646. He appointed his favourite Shakrullah Arab as the governor of Balkh.

Nazr Muhammad hotly pursued by Bahadur and Asalat succeeded in making good his escape to Persia where he, like his uncle, was well received by the Shah.(1)

(1) The historian of Central Asia describes in rather

(Note continued)

Shāhjahān, on learning of Nazr's flight to Persia, sent Jan-nisar Khān to dissuade the Shah from intervening in Central Asiatic affairs.[1] He also sent Mir Aziz with an apologetic letter to Nazr Muhammad. Shāhjahān attributed the misunderstanding to the inexperience and youth of the prince, and assured the Khān of his friendly intentions. He further promised to send Nazr Muhammad's family anywhere he wished. Nothing definite was, however promised to him with regard to his lost territory.[2]

Meanwhile Murad was replaced by Aurangzeb, for governing those lawless regions was infinitely more difficult than conquering them. This task was rendered almost impossible by the mutual jealousies of the various

---

(Note continued)

exaggerated tones his reception at Isfahan. Muhammad Yusuf and Muhammad bin Amir Wali tell us that the Shah went out several miles disguised as a soldier and walked with the Khān's horse unrecognised for a considerable distance. Nazr Muhammad on being quietly informed about the identity of his attendant jumped down and embraced the Shah. This particular incident is not mentioned by the historians of Persia, but they are all agreed that the Shah went out of the city several leagues to receive the Khān and that the whole city was gaily decorated in his honour.

(1) See Tahir Wahid. ff 53b.

(2) Lahuri II. p.572-577.

commanders, and the inveterate hostility of the people to the new regime, due greatly to Ali Mardan's unpopular and the influx of the "infidels". These difficulties be came greater and greater every day in spite of a severe defeat inflicted on Abdul Aziz by Aurangzeb. Nazr Muhammad appeared on the scene, too, with some "Iraqi" troops lent by the Shah, and soon opened negotiations with Aurangzeb. Peace having been concluded,(1) Aurangzeb started his ill-fated homeward march in October 1647 Thus ended the wild dream of the Mughal Emperors. It brought nothing but disaster, famine and death both to the Indians and the Turanians. Muhammad Yusuf bin Khwaj Balā, on his way to India the following summer, saw stre all along the route animal and human bones; at places th were piles of them.(2)

It was not only the loss of men and money which

---

(1) Nazr Muhammad excused himself and sent his sons to bid farewell to the Prince.

(2) This is supported by the Russian historians who say "Les armies du Djeghatây repassèrent donc la Koutel les soldats furent exposés à des gelees si violente qu'ils perirent presque tous de faim et de froid, après avoir brûlé jusqu'à leur armes pour se chauff L'Histoire Général des Huns, des Turcs et des Mongo p.46.

Shāhjahān suffered in this expedition, but the Empire lost all its prestige in Middle Eastern affairs. The sword of Damocles hanging over Turan ever since the days of Akbar in the shape of an Indian invasion, with all the vast resources of a great empire, now vanished for ever. Shah Abbās was quick to seize this opportunity, and fell on Qandahār before the Indians had time to recover.

Unrest in Afghanistan.

These events were followed by a wave of unrest throughout Afghanistan and the North West Frontier of India, which could never be quite stamped out and was one of the causes of the disruption of the Empire. After the Balkh campaign and the loss of Qandahār, the power of the Mughal emperors began dwindling in Afghanistan, and the tribes got a long-lost opportunity to foment dissensions and intrigues for their own ends by playing off the Mughal administration against the Persians and vice versa. The Abdalis, having allied themselves with the Persians, the Ghilzais had to accept Hobson's choice and fall back on the Mughals for support against their age-long enemies. This perpetual warfare encouraged the inherently lawless tendencies of the population, and broke the thin web of administration so ably cast by Akbar over that delectable country. Afghanistan gradually slipped into anarchy and confusion which even the strong hand of Aurangzeb could not control. This

unrest also dried up the healthy stream of young Afghān recruits to the Mughal army, which henceforth could make drafts only on the Muslim manpower of Northern India, which was then not very considerable.(1)

Truly speaking, the decline of the Mughal Empire begins from this time. History furnishes another example but, unlike Napoleon's, the Mughal Empire continued its chequered career for another 200 years because it was built on deeper and firmer foundations.

This disastrous expedition had other far reaching results as well. It left behind in Central Asia terrible famine and plague which devastated the country and weakened the power of the Ashtarkhānī dynasty. It also ruine the trade and commerce which had for generations flowed into India from Bukhārā and Samarqand. The disturbed state of affairs in Afghānistān especially through the passes of the North West frontier of India dealt it a further blow. The occupation of Qandahār by the Persians and the virtual state of war that followed it throughout Aurangzeb's reign except for a brief space of a few years

---

(1) See Edwarde's Mughal Rule in India. p. 121, footnotes.

diverted the trade and commerce from the Bolan Pass(1) to the ports of Southern India, considerably to the advantage of the English and with great loss to the Mughal treasury, a loss which could not be stopped owing to the absence of navy.

---

(1) The trade through the Bolan Pass was very considera
See Sarkar's Mughal Administration. p. 67.

CHAPTER IV.

Subhān Quli - the ruler of Balkh - was the first among foreign kings to recognise Aurangzeb, for Aurangzeb had left a lasting impression of his metal on the Turanians during Shāhjahān's ill-fated expedition to those regions. Moreover Subhān Quli had no finer scruples for his brother Qasim Sultan had met the same fate as Darā and Murad.

In the beginning of 1071 A.H. Kalij Beg, a servant of Subhān Quli, brought 27 horses and fruits from Balkh fòr Aurangzeb and was suitably rewarded.

The Embassy of Ibrahim Beg, 1071 A.H. (1661 A.D.)

The first regular embassy arrived two months after Kalij Beg. Ibrāhīm Beg presented his credentials on the 26th Jamādi-us-sānī. He was introduced into the royal presence by Mir Bāqi and produced the Khān's letter and presents. The presents consisted of horses, camels, mules, gems and "Central Asiatic rarities". Rs.15,000, a khilat and a jewelled belt were bestowed upon the ambassador.(1) A house was also assigned to him, and one

(1) Alamgirnama, 605-8.

of the royal servants was appointed to look after his comforts. The ambassador, however, like many of his predecessors, died after a few days, in spite of the best medical attendance provided by Aurangzeb.(1) In Rajab his companions were dismissed with a reward of Rs.8,000.

The object of this mission was to congratulate Aurangzeb on his ascent to the throne of India.

The Embassy of Khwaja Ahmad, 1072, A.H. (1661 A.D.)

While the Persian minister was still in India, the Governor of Kabul sent to court news of the arrival of an ambassador from 'Abdul 'Aziz Khān of Bukhārā.(2) Khwājā Ahmad was a son of Mahmud, a famous Khwaja of Mavra-un-nehr. It was usually very pious men who were sent on political missions from Turan. Aurangzeb appointed Musahib Beg as the mehmandar. After resting for a few days he presented his credentials on the 4th Rabiul-sani while the jashn-i-shamsi was in progress. Saif Khān and Kabād Khān introduced him into the royal presence. After performing kornish in the Diwan-i-am he submitted the Khān's letter and presents, which included a beautiful ruby valued at Rs.40,000, a khilat,

(1) See Bernier 116-23, storia ii, 36-44.

(2) Maasir-i-alamgiri. p. 37.

a jewelled dagger and Rs.8,000 were bestowed upon him. A grand banquet was given in his honour on the river bank. At a private interview in Ghusalkhana he conveyed the oral messages from the Khān. In all he received Rs.120,000. He died at Lahore on his return journey.(1)

The Embassy of Mustafa Khān. 1074 A.H. (1664 A.D.)

Mustafa Khān was sent by Aurangzeb to Abdul Aziz and Subhān Quli. A khilat, a horse with golden trappings a sword with jewelled fittings, a plume and a female elephant were bestowed upon the ambassador designate. Presents worth Rs.140,000 for Abdul Aziz and Rs.100,000 for Subhān Quli were sent.(2) In his letter to Abdul Aziz Khān Aurangzeb acknowledged the embassy from the Khān and expressed hopes for the continuation of old friendship. He also justified his acts on religious grounds.(3)

In a longer letter sent by Fazil Khān Aurangzeb was styled "the king of both the spiritual and temporal worlds, and the true successor of Khulafa-i-rashidin".(4)

In his letter to Subhān Quli Aurangzeb also

---

(1) See Alamgirnama, 637, 644, 662-665, 673, 738.
(2) Alamgirnama, p. 863, Maasir, p.48.
(3) For letter Bahar-i-Sukhan. ff 24b.
(4) Bahar-i-Sukhan. ff 28b.

justified his harsh treatment towards his brother, who, he says, "in spite of my best efforts would not come to the path of sincerity and brotherhood." It also dwelt on Raja Jaswant Singh's part in the War of Succession. A few words about Dara's attempt to escape to the Persian frontier and seek Qizilbash's help are also given.(1)

While Mustafa was in Turan Muhammad Said came from Abdul Aziz with fresh fruits, etc.

Mustafa Khān returned in 1077 A.H., and his services were recognised by Aurangzeb, who raised his mansib by 500 horse, and also bestowed on him a khilat, a horse and the governorship of Bakhar.(2)

The Embassy of Rustam Beg and Khushal Beg, 1077 A.H. (1667 A.D.)

Abdul Aziz Khān sent another ambassador with presents and a letter. He was introduced into the royal presence by Tarbiat Khān, who had now been restored to his former rank and position. Rs.35,000, a khilat and a jewelled sword were bestowed upon the ambassador.(3)

Subhān Quli, too, sent Khushal Beg with a letter and presents at this time. Both the ambassadors were dismissed on the 25th Jamadi I. during ceremony of weighing. In all Rs.34,000 were given to Rustam and Rs.18,000 to the members of his suite. A similar sum

(1) Bahar-i-Sukhan, ff 29-34b.
(2) Alamgirnama, p.1035-49.
(3) Ibid, p.1049.
(4)

was also bestowed on Khushal but the members of his suite got only Rs.4,000, but his son Yar Muhammad got a golden Mahar of 50 tolas.

The Embassy of Shadman Khwaja, 1669 A.D.

In 1080 arrived another ambassador from Balkh with the usual presents and was introduced into the royal presence by Faizalullah Khān and Hazhur Khān. He was received in the Ghusal-khana. A khilat and Rs.10,000 were given to him.[1] He was dismissed in Shawal with a reward of Rs.25,000, a khilat, a jewelled sword, and an elephant with silver saddle. Rs.10,000 were given to the members of his suite.[2] Next year an ambassador arrived from Bukhara.[3]

The Embassy of Taz Khan, 1670.

In 1080 Taz Khān was sent to Turan with presents worth Rs.200,000 and Rs.120,000 to Abdul Aziz and Subhān Quli respectively. The ambassador's mansib was increased before his departure. Taz Khān returned after four years in 1086 with Mulla Muhammad Tahir who was dismissed after a time with suitable reward. Abdul Aziz, too, sent an ambassador.[4] Rs.25,000 were given to Muhammad Sharif. Abdul Aziz sent Naimatullah with a letter in 1081 A.H.

As there was a great famine and civil war in Turan,

---

(1) Maasir, p.80.
(2) Maasir, p.90.
(3) Ibid, 104.
(4) Ibid, 158.

The Embassy of Kalandar Beg, 1680.

no one came from that country till 1091 A.H., when Abdul Aziz abdicated the throne of Bukhara in favour[1] of his brother Subhān Quli, and, like his ancestors, left for the holy places. Subhān Quli immediately despatched Kalandar Beg to his old friend Aurangzeb with a letter and presents. Two years later Rahman Quli came from Bukhara. Aurangzeb was at this time sorely harassed by continual disturbances among the Afghans in general and the Ghilzais in particular.[2] He suspected the Persian intrigues in those regions to divert his attention from the conquest of their southern allies for which he was making active preparation. He also suspected that the Persians were helping Akbar to attack India.[3] But his fears were not quite justified as the Safavi dynasty was now living only on its past reputation, and was in reality too weak to undertake any great enterprise.

The Embassy of Zabardast Khān 1684

In 1096 he sent Wafadar Khān the grandson of Sâid Khān to Bukhara with elephants and other valuable presents. At the time of his departure he was given the title of Zabardast Khān; an elephant and Rs.10,000 were also bestowed upon him, his mansib too was increased by 400 horse.[4] The object of his mission is nowhere

(1) Maasir, 216.
(2) See Maasir, 145-146. Cf Ishwardas 71a for disturbance in Afghanistan.
(3) Storia ii. 322.
(4) Maasir, 255.

given in any Indian history but Tazkirah-i-Mukim Khani[1] says that Aurangzeb wanted to form an alliance with Subhān Quli against the Qizilbashs[2] and tried to induce the Khān to attack Khurasan and thus compel them to give up their intrigues in Afghanistan and the Deccan. Zabardast Khān was sent at the time of laying siege to Bijapur and as Aurangzeb was busy in the Deccan, he would have been much embarrassed by a Persian attempt to create a diversion on the north west, so he approached the Usbegs to forestall them by invading Khurasan.[3]

Aurangzeb like his predecessors had no intention of participating actively in the quarrels of Central Asia,[4] but he would have welcomed the downfall of the Safavi dynasty and if possible the return of Qandahār by means of intrigues, the Central Asiatic states

---

(1)
(2) This is supported by the analysis of the Russian historians who say:- "L'objet de cette ambassade était d'engager le monarque Uzbek à combattre avec lui les Persans, enemis de la religion et les leurs en particulier."
(3) But Persia was too weak to take such action. Aurangzeb was deceived by the outward calm in Persia, the splendour of the court and their intrigues in Afghanistan.
(4) Strangely enough Gribble says:- "It is alleged documents exist which show that Aurangzeb's secret intention was ultimately to found a great Empire in Central Asia." History of the Deccan, Vol. I. Probably he was thinking of Shāhjahān.

being a very good instrument for the purpose. So long as Persia was strong enough to exercise moral or political pressure, the total annihilation of the Shia states of the Deccan was impossible, but with a crippled Persia their end could not be far off and the Emperor could then pursue his activities in the south without any fear of being stabbed in the back by their age-long ally in the North West. It was a cherished hope of Aurangzeb to shatter this anti-Mughal balance of power once for all. Aurangzeb succeeded in accomplishing this task towards the end of his life. The Safavi Empire was tottering, partly as the result of his intrigues and money, and its allies in the South of India disappeared completely. Apparently both the cultural and political influence of shiaism in India had been broken by the occupation of its two greatest centres, but Aurangzeb hardly realised that this task had drained the life-blood of the Mughal Empire, which was reduced to exhaustion from which it could never recover until the mutiny blew out the last flickering flame of a dying lamp.

In his letter to Subhān Quli Aurangzeb apologizes for delay in sending the embassy, which was partly due to the affairs of Muhammad Sadiq and partly to the rebellion of Ranā, a noble of India, who refused to pay jizyā, and Akbar's joining the "heretic" rebel.

He also speaks of reducing Bijapur, that "nest of shia intrigues" and of having punished Sanbhā in the south and Kalmaq's in the north. In the end he expressed a hope that "Khanāzād" Zabardast Khān will succeed in reviving the old alliance and friendship.(1)

Sultan Sulaiman II. of Turkey approached both Aurangzeb and Subhān Quli for a similar alliance six years later,(2) but Bukhara was too weak and sorely harassed by her two foes, Urgauj and Khwarazm, to be an effective ally; besides, it was torn by internal strife.

On his return Zabardast Khān was promoted to the coveted post of the governor of Oudh and his mansib was further increased.

Shortly before his death Subhān Quli sent Nazar Beg with a letter and presents.(3) After Subhān Quli's death Trans-Oxiana was again plunged into terrible civil war between the factions supporting Obaidullah and Mukim Khān, and no one came from those regions till 1113 A.H., when Obaidullah sent Qutbuddin with presents and a letter. Aurangzeb was too far removed now from

(1) Copy of the letter is given in Tazkirah-i-Mukim Khani
(2) For his letter to Aurangzeb, f 18a; and Subhān Quli, f 19a, Brit. Mus. Mans. OR 7857.
(3) Maasir, p. 237.

Central Asia to take any active interest in the politics of those regions.

In the beginning of his reign so liberal were Aurangzeb's awards to the foreign envoys that even the petty states of Central Asia were tempted to send envoys. In addition to the embassies mentioned above, he received in 1074 A.H. (1664 A.D.) Mir Haji Fulad from Abdullah Khān of Kashghar, and sent Khwaja Ishaq in return. He received two more embassies from Kashghar; in 1079 came Abdur Rashid, and in 1101 Abdur Rahim Beg.

In 1667 he also received Asham Beg from Urganj with a letter from Muhammad Khān.(3) Two more embassies arrived from Urganj, one in 1671(4) and the other in 1681.(5)

Abdullah Khān the deposed ruler of Kashghar came to India and was suitably provided for.(6)

---

(1) Alamgirnama, 858 and 861.
(2) Maasir, p. 79.
(3) Alamgirnama p. 1048.
(4) Maasir, p. 112.
(5) Ibid, p. 207.
(6) Alamgirnama, 1064; Maasir, 71; Storia ii. 190.

The Failure of Forward Policy

It is fitting that a few words should be said here about the rapid decline of the Mughal Empire during the last few years of Aurangzeb's reign.

As has been pointed out elsewhere the terrible reverse in Central Asia had far reaching effects and it changed the economic and political condition of the Empire. It was only natural that in a highly centralized government, as that of the Mughals, the first signs of weakness should have manifested themselves on the North West frontier of the Empire. Close at its heel came the disastrous expeditions to Qandahār and the War of Succession. Had Aurangzeb after his success realized the importance of a constructive economic policy instead of the wild goose chase in the south, the Mughal Empire would have been given a new lease of life. What was wanted at this juncture was a new mind rather than old dogmas. One wonders why Aurangzeb's long reign did not produce a single minister or governor of outstanding ability, unless one classes Ruhullah and Amīr Khān in the same category as their illustrious predecessors. Was it that his active brain was too dominating for the display of the administrative capacity of any minister? Or was there a real dearth of capable men? It is beyond doubt that the greatness of his predecessors was due to their greater ministers. Bairam Khān

Abul Fazl, Hahim Abul Fath, Todar Mal, Asaf Khān, Saadullah, Ali Mardan Khan, Afzal Khān and other able ministers were as much responsible for building up the Mughal Empire as sagacious sovereigns like Akbar, Jahāngir and Shāhjahān. It is true that in the beginning of his reign he had eminent advisers like Mir Jumla, Fāzil Khān, Danishmand and other but they were all men of his father's time who soon disappeared from the scene and may one ask who took their place?

Had there been a mind like that of Abul Fazl to tackle the economic and political problems that arose during the last few years of Shāhjahān's reign the history of the Mughal Empire would have been different. But the guiding hand of Providence had decreed that at this greatest crisis in the life of the Empire the presiding genius instead of following a constructive policy should seek refuge in the cloak of religion, for which other cloak could hide the brutal murder of brothers and nephews and the imprisonment of the aged father and sister.[1]

---

1 Some Muslim historians of India seeing only through communal spectacles have tried to justify Aurangzeb treatment of his father and brothers on religious grounds. No one who has read the painful correspon dence between the father and the son during the clo sing years of the former's life can fail to feel th no religion, much less Islam, could condone the har

(Note continued)

(Note continued)

and cruel treatment and the indignities to which the dying man was subjected. On one occasion his tortured mind gave vent to the following feeling:

" آفرین بر یهود در هر باب — مرده را میدهند دائم آب
ای پسر تو عجب مسلمانی — زنده جانم بآب ترسانی "

Book III

Relations with the Sublime Porte.

"He hath appointed you as his vicegerent in the earth."

Al-Quran (Quoted by Akbar in his letter to Sultān Sulaimān Khān)

CHAPTER I.

Before coming directly to the diplomatic relations of the Mughal Emperors with Turkey, a few words may be said about their attitude towards the question of the Caliphate. As the proud descendants of Timur and Shahrukh, it behoved them not to accept the political superiority of any institution, however holy, more especially when it was vested in the descendants of Bayazid and Musa. They often styled themselves as "Khalifa", "Lord of the Age", "Commander of the faithful" and all other titles associated from the earliest times with the office of Caliph, but in spite of this neither they themselves nor their followers could escape the fact that the only justification for claiming these titles in the eyes of the entire orthodox Muslim world was the power of protecting the holy places, and this was denied to them. Consequently, seldom in their correspondence with the Sultans of Turkey did they arrogate to themselves the title of Caliph; on the contrary, the Sultan was often addressed as "Khalifa", "Khakan of all Muslim Sovereigns", one "who is ennobled by the test of the Quran" and so forth. But when relations with Turkey we

were strained the Mughal emperors did not hesitate to assert their claim to the Caliphate in guarded language even in their letters to the Sultāns.[1] This inconsistent attitude towards the question of the Ottoman Caliphate is reflected all through their diplomatic correspondence with Turkey. It is interesting to note that Akbar[2] in his letter to Sultan Sulaiman Khan in 1556 addressed the Sultan as "Khalifa" and the viceregent of God on the earth and as one who was exalted by the text of the holy Quran.[3] T

---

(1)
The attitude of the Mughal Emperors to the question of the Ottoman Caliphate has been briefly dealt with by Sir Thomas Arnold in his book on the Caliphate (P.159-162). It was written probably for popular requirement, at a time when the question of the Caliphate was engaging the attention of the entire world, than as lasting contribution to the world's knowledge on the subject. One would have expected otherwise from that versatile pen. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to go into those broad issues which Sir Thomas discusses with so much ability, but as far as the Mughal Emperors are concerned it is respectfully suggested that Sir Thomas has failed to understand their attitude on this most disturbing question in Islamic history. It is probably due to the fact that he dealt wit this aspect of the Caliphate only indirectly.

(2)
This letter as already pointed out is attributed to Humāyun by Isāri Abdullah and Hāji Khalifa (in his History of the naval wars of the Ottomans, Const: 1728) and on their authority by Scheffer. Von Hammer and Arnold on the authority of Ahmad Faridun attribute it to Akbar. I have discussed this question more fully in my account of Isari's Dastur-ul-Inshā.

(3)
Chapter XXXV 37.

Sultan is further styled as "the refuge of the kings of the time and the adjuster of the rulers of the world". A Persian couplet (1) though quoted in honour of the Sultan is capable of double meaning (2)

---

(1)

شهی که نقش نگین جلال شد نامش
کمال یافت خلفت بفر ایامش

(2)

In this letter which Sir Thomas quotes at some length a passage is translated thus:- "That there is now installed on the seat of the Khilafat of Hind and Sindh a monarch whose magnificence is equal to that of Solomon." This as already explained is based on Isari's version, and is torn from its context. The whole passage runs thus:- "Oh! Opener of the doors of majesty and saltanat with the keys of true guidance, the adorner of the throne of shah-in shahi, the receptacle of the favours and glory of God, Abul Ghazi Sultan Sulaiman Khan, the leader of the true faith the custodián of the evident shariat, may your victorious banners be ever flying, may the verses of your great victories be for ever inscribed on the leaves of the skies, may your avenging power be ever strong. It is prayed of God the dispenser of every favour, may his attributes shine forth, that your empire should keep on flourishing and the Khilafat should perpetually abide in your family, and keep on ensuring the welfare of the servants of God. These wishes are inscribed on the tablets of diwan which gives everything and whose grants are adorned with the royal 'toghra'. Praises be to God that the gates of inspiration are by his command opened with the keys of victories and by his dispensation the throne of the Khilafat in Hind and Sindh became once more the seat of that king with majesty like that Solomon."

Again in 1638 Shahjahan sent a letter[(1)] to Sultan Murad IV through Mir Zarif, here too the Sultān was addressed as the "Khalifa of the time", "Gods shadow on the earth, whom he has selected for the dignified charge of the Khilafat."

---

(1)

It is strange that Sir Thomas does not even refer to this letter, though he quotes Islām Khān's letter to Grand Vazir Mustāfa Pāshā. Both the letters are given in Dastur ul Insha. Shāhjahān as shall be explained in the following pages was offended with the tone of Sultān Murād' reply to this letter and sent a protest through the letter of Vazir Islām Khān. Here Islām Khān styled Shāhjahān as "Khalifa." Sir Thomas gives many quotations from this letter in his arguments, but a letter infinitely more important given only a few pages before this one escapes his notice. The story of Arslan Agha's "ungracious dismissal" is exaggerated to suit his arguments. This too will be explained in the following pages.

"the Commander of the believers" and "the keeper of the two sanctuaries." By this it was never meant to acknowledge in any way the political superiority of the Ottoman Sultans, but the Caliphate was at this time very much connected with the holy places and was regarded more or less as a religious institution. This acknowledgment did not prevent the Mughal Emperors from styling themselves as Caliphs and their court as Durbar-i-khilafat in their own sphere of influence. It must be due to this reason that such of their letters in which the Sultans are addressed as Caliphs are nowhere reproduced in any Indian history or Insha.

It is also worth noticing that although Abdullah Khan Usbeg, Abdul Mumin and other Khans of Mavra-un-Nahr often styled themselves as the Caliphs in their correspondence with the Mughal Emperors, never when writing to the Sultans[1] did they directly or indirectly arrogate to themselves the titles usually meant for the Caliph.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar is wrong when he says "the ruler of Turkey is spoken of merely as Caesar of Rome and never as Khalifa or Commander of the faithful"[2] by

---

[1] For Abdullah's letters to the Sultan see Or.3482. For Abdul Mumin's letter to Murad III, see Tazkirah-i-Mukim Khani (R.A.S. Ms 161) ff.53.

[2] History of Aurangzeb III. p.134.

the Mughal Emperors. He has come to this conclusion only by the letter of 1551, but apparently he has not seen Shahjahan's letter of 1638 and Akbar's letter.

Diplomatic relations existed between the Sublime Porte and some states of India before the advent of the Mughals. The Behmani Sultans[1] and the kings of Gujrat sent embassies to Constantinople. This contact reached its culminating point in the reign of Sulaiman the magnificent, who sent an expedition against Portuguese in Gujrat. This intervention was due to a series of events which Vambery interprets as a desire on the part of the Sultan to conquer India but which in reality was nothing more than an attempt to shatter the sea power of the Portuguese and to help the King of Gujrat who had approached him.

---

1 British Museum Ms. Or 16, gives the correspondence between Muhammad Shah Behmani and Muhammad II, (ff.44b). It also contains correspondence between Bayezid and Muhammad Shah (whose name is wrongly given as Khalil Khan, King of India). The letters frequently mention Khwaja Mahmud Gavan. See also Munshiat-i-Salatin I,p.250

2 For an account of Sultan's expedition to Gujrat, see Ross's Arabic History of Gujrat pp.266-388. See also Tarikh-ul-Memalik (Add. 7855) ff.218 b.
As far as I know this account has not been mentioned by any historian.

Note. The authorities consulted for this book are those mentioned by Von Hammer and others specially recommended by Sir Denison Ross who very kindly prepared a list for my use. Mr Baban Beg a turkish friend of mine also recomended some very useful books and helped in some translations from the Ms in Vienna.

In 942 one Burhan who claimed to be a son of Iskandar, Sultan of India, "came to Istambul ruined by the Mughal armies." The Sultan says Feridi granted him a suitable pension.[1] Shortly after Asaf Khan came with costly presents from Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and was received by the Sultan with great honour. The Sultan at this time also received 300 caskets full of gold and jewels which Bahadur had deposited at Mecca.[2]

Akbar was the first of the Mughals who tried to open friendly relations by sending a letter through Sidi ʿAli

---

1 It is not certain who this Burhan was; apparently he was one of the brothers of Ibrahim Lodhi. Badauni and other Indian historians give the following names of Iskandar's sons, (1) Azam Humayun, (2) Jalāl, (3) Ibrāhim (4) Ismāʿil, (5) Hussain. It is probable that Hussain's full name was Burhan Hussain. See also Feridi Vienna Ms. No. 998, (events of year 942 A.H.). I am also indebted to Sir Dennison Ross for lending me his photographic copy.

2 I am indebted to Sir Dennison Ross for lending me his unpublished papers describing fully Sultan's interview with Asaf Khān. Feridi says that the treasure was sent by Sulaiman Pasha after the news of Bahadur's death reached him. As nothing more was heard of this, it is natural to presume that the Sultan appropriated it to his use. Sir Dennison attributes the great magnificence of the Sultan's court and his costly wars to this accumulated treasure of a rich Indian kingdom which a generous providence surrendered into his hand without any effort on his part. See also Arabic History of Gujrat, p.386.

the Turkish admiral and poet who was shipwrecked on the coast of Gujrat, and from there came to Delhi in the time of Humayun.[1] No direct mention of him is to be found in Indian history, but Mr. Beveridge may be right in thinking that he got "the sobriquet of Chaghtai Khan on account of his proficiency in the Chaghtai language," for Abul Fazl says that "Chaghtai Khan and some persons arrived from Gujrat and related their adventures." As there is no mention of any Chaghtai Khan before or subsequent to this event, and the time corresponds exactly with Sidi Ali's arrival, it is most improbable that someone else could have been meant. It is not difficult to see why the letter sent is nowhere reproduced in any Indian history or Insha for it was never acknowledged by Sulaiman. It seems a little surprising that Akbar, who in his early days, was so much under the shia influence, should have sent such a letter. But the letter was probably drafted before Humayun's death and was sent in the same form by Akbar.[2]

---

1 For an account of Sidi Ali not mentioned by any historian as far as I know, see Takkat-al Memalik (Add. 7855), for landing near Somnath ff. 344, and for subsequent events, ff. 345b.

2 Sidi Ali himself tells us that he left only a few days after Humayun's death. Bairam Khan did not gain his great influence till after the battle of Panipat.

The letter starts with the usual prayers and greetings for the Sultan's health and prosperity and a verse of the Quran is quoted in praise of his victories. He is addressed as "the orient of divine light, the shahinshah, and as the adjuster of the true faith, who is exalted by the text of Al-Quran (Chapter XXXV 37). To this is added a prayer that the Caliphate should rema[in] for ever in his house. A hope for further relations and correspondence is expressed in the following words:- "Up till now there has been no correspondence with you the Caliph of great qualities, but it has always been our desire to open mutual correspondence." It is furthe[r] stated that this desire can now be gratified through you[r] servant Sidi Ali, who came to Delhi from Gujrat with some Egyptian sailors. The letter closes with the following expression of hope:-

"It is hoped that Your Majesty will now open friendly correspondence and thus lay the foundation of a great alliance."

---

1 For the letter see Munshaat wa baz waqa-i-Sultan Sulaiman Khan. ff. 257-8. Mans: H.O.50 (Vienna).

2 Sidi Ali gives us interesting first-hand information about Humayun's court. Humayun was much pleased with the following chronogram composed in his honour by Sidi Ali.

شاه رتبت همایون بخت   یدی اقلیم مسخر چون آتشی
قیروی افغانی دهلی نی آلدی   بولدی نو حال بری بار کیشی
اول فتحه ایتدیلر تاریخ   طالع دولت همایونشی

Sidi Ali delivered Akbar's letter to the Sultan in 962 A.H. but Akbar's hopes of an alliance were not realized as no one came from Turkey.

CHAPTER II.

Jahangir in Tuzk does not mention the arrival of any ambassador from Turkey except Agam Haji, who brought a letter in 1608 A.D. which he alleged was from the Sultan, but which no one could read.[1] Sir Thomas Roe, however, says "so that the Turks the last yeere (1614) sending an ambassage to entreate him not to assist the Persian, hee gave him very harsh entertainment; made his salem to the ground; and, as soone as he was dismissed, sent the Persian ten lackes rupias."[2] No mention of this embassy is to be found in any Indian history.

Ai Khan. Naima[3] in the events of A.H. 1035 (1628 A.D.) records the despatch of a letter from the Sultan to Selim Shah of Hindustan through Ai Khan - an uncle of Imam Quli - who came to Constantinople after having escaped from the Qisilbashs. The Imperial letter is reproduced in the Munshiat-i-salatin.[4] It starts with the usual compliments and prayers and says: "The reason of sending this letter is that Ai Khan - an uncle of Imam Quli Khan - came from Persia to our court and we

---

1 Tuzk I, p.145 (Trans.)

2 The Embassy Sir Thomas Roe, p.92.

3 Vol.I, p.441.

4 Vol.II, p.142.

honoured him by allowing him into our presence and offering him our hospitality. After having been duly entertained and honoured, he was dismissed from this court of the Khilafat as he asked for our permission to go to his country As the roads through Persia are not safe and are also in the hands of infidels, he will go through India after performing Haj, and shall have the honour of kissing your threshold. He talks much of the magnificence of Your Majesty's Court and we take this opportunity to renew our old friendship; and for this reason we gave him this letter which is full of love. It is expected that Your Majesty will send him to his country by the safest way according to the rules of the kings. Since we came to the throne all thorns here and there have been crushed by our power and our path cleared The powers that opposed us too have been humbled to dust. Our attention is now diverted to the wrong sect and for this reason we have sent our field-marshal against Shah Abbas - who is the most wicked of all men. Now I turn my face to God and I hope that by his help, and that of the prophet and his apostles I shall be successful. If Your Majesty on your side attacks them at the same time, it is expected that with Almighty's help their kingdom will soon disappear and from both sides the success of the soldiers of Islam will be manifest and proclaimed to the whole world."

Ai Khan was also the bearer of a similar letter[1] to Imam Quli, wherein the Sultan mentions an earlier letter about Imam's co-operation against Abbas. Ai Khan probably reached India at a time when Jahangir's health had broken down and the country was torn by Nur Jahan's intrigues. It is probable that this letter of the Sultan encouraged Shahjahan to send Mir Zarif with a proposal for an alliance.[2]

---

1 Munshiat-i-Salatin, Vol.II, p.143.
This letter is more bitter in tone against the shias. The Sultan says "....... to deal with them (shias) otherwise than by war and slaughter is a great sin," and ends with the following expression of hope:-
"If you on your side will try to retake the Islamic countries which he has unjustly grasped, by God's help his kingdom will soon disappear and the great power of the sunnis will be in evidence." Ai Khan's journey across India is described as "through the desert of Hindustan."

2 I have not been able to find any reference to Ai Khan in any Indian history of this period, but histories of the time of Jahangir are not as detailed as that of his predecessor and successor and do not mention many important events.

CHAPTER III.

After Jahangir's death, Baysanghar - one of the claimants to the throne - having been coldly received in Persia went to Turkey. Naima gives some details about his reception at the Sublime Porte in the events of year 1042 A.H.[2] He was well received in the beginning but it seems his boastful attitude and frequent references to Timur displeased the Sultan, and after a time he was not allowed into the royal presence.[3]

In refusing him aid the Sultan, in course of speech it is alleged by Naima, referred to two friendly embassies sent by Shahjahan. No mention of these embassies is to be found anywhere in Indian histories but it is not improbable that Mir Birka and Zarif went to Turkey before the official embassy of 1638.

---

1 He was a son of Prince Daniyal and was, it is alleged, converted to Christianity for a time and named Don Carlo[s] See Maclagan's article in Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, Vol.IV, p.15, also proceedings of A.S.B. 1869, p.218. He is also frequently mentioned by Roe, Terry, Bernier, Manucci, Hawkins, Finch and other European travellers. See Early Travels, pp.86, 116, 147-8, 154. See also Lahauri I, Pt.2, p.206, Qazvini 38[...] English Fact: in India 1630-31, p.160.

2 Vol.I, pp.449, 535.

3 Naima also tells us the story of how Baysanghar foolishly distributed the reward given to him by the Sultan among porters, etc. etc.

Amal-i-Saleh says that Mir was ordered to proceed to Iraq and report on conditions there. It is further stated that Zarif was sent to Iraq to bring horses; on his return the horses he had brought did not meet with Shāhjahān's approval and he was sent once more "to retrieve his shame." As will be seen from the following pages, the story about the horses was a clever fiction to hide the real object of his mission and it is quite possible that Zarīf and Mir Birka, or someone on his behalf, went to Turkey.[1]

The Embassy of Mir Zarif 1638.

It is stated that Mir Zarif at his own request was sent in 1046 A.H. to Turkey to rehabilitate his reputatio by bringing better horses this time. As it was reported to Shāhjahān that the best horses could not be purchased without the Sultān's permission, Afzal Khān was ordered to write a letter on behalf of the Emperor, but as a letter could not be sent to such a great monarch without some suitable gifts, a jewelled dagger and girdle of great value were also sent. Afzal Khān, on his own behalf, sent another letter and presents to the Grand Va Muhammad Pasha.[2]

---

1 It took Mir Birka 4 years to return to India and the very fact that he came back via the Arabian Sea lends support to this theory, for very rarely did the ambassadors to Persia return by that route.

2 Lah. II, p.184.

Zarif embarked at Lahiribandar for the holy places in 1046 A.H. and from there went to Egypt, where he was magnificently entertained by the Governor, who even came out of the city to receive him. The Governor wrote to the Sultan, who was then at Mosul preparing for the siege of Baghdad. He, on receiving the letter, ordered that Zarif should be sent to him with due honours.[1] The ambassador presented his credentials and the golden casket containing the jewelled girdle and dagger. He also presented on his own behalf 1,000 pieces of the most expensive Indian cloth. Among the presents was a shield which the Sultan immediately penetrated with a spear.

---

1 Naima I, p.648, "Coming of the Indian Ambassador."

Here there is a slight difference between Lahauri and Naima. Lahauri says that the shield belonged to Zarif and was produced at the Sultan's request as he was very curious to see some Indian weapons. Naima says that it w one of the royal presents and was alleged to be unpenetrable. The Sultan, who was a very strong man, ha it placed on the ground and drove the point of his spear right through it. He ordered it to be filled with golde coins and then gave it to Zarif.

Naima gives some details about the object of this mission and says "on hearing of the Sultan's move towards Baghdad the Emperor of India had also turned his attention towards Qandahar."[1]

Zarif was ordered by the Sultan to stay at Mosul and was dismissed after the conquest of Baghdad. It is surprising that not a word except the (so said) purchase of horses is to be found anywhere in Indian histories about the real object of this mission. A perusal of Shahjahan's letter to the Sultan makes it quite clear that it was Shahjahan's desire to form a Turco-Mughal alliance against the Persians.[2]

In the letter[3] the Sultan is styled as Caliph, shadow of God on earth, the Commander of the faithful and so forth. His fights against the Persians - who are termed "sinful innovators," are lauded as a "religious obligation." Shahjahan's victories in the Deccan are described at great length and a justification is sought by classifying the rulers of the Deccan in the same category as "the Persian heretics" against whom says Shahjahan "all brethren of the Hanafi sect should be glad

---

1 Vol.I, p.649.

2 The English factors were always quick to judge the real object of these missions. They say "Zarif was sent to form an alliance against the Persians." See Eng: Fact: Records.

3 Dastur-ul-Insha by Ries Effendi Isāri ʿAbdullah (Vienna) Ms. H.O.167, ff.

to hear of our great victories."

The following sentences are of great historical importance:- "Peace having been restored in the Deccan, nothing further can be achieved there or elsewhe in India. It is now our intention to drive back those base sectarians. Our immediate desire is to retake the frontier fort of Qandahar, to be followed, with God's help, by the conquest of Khorasan. The destruction of these heretics is the duty of all orthodox Muslim sovereigns, especially the one who is ennobled with the duty of executing the divine laws, and guiding the faithful. It is therefore necessary for Your Majesty to drive them away from Iraq, especially Baghdad - where rest Imam Azam, Sayyid Abdul Qadir Jilani and other piou men - may God grant peace to their souls. To all these saints these infidels bear fierce hatred and enmity. Though Your Majesty attempted to accomplish this task last year, and conquered Erivan and Tabriz, but owing to some unfortunate and unforeseen accidents at Istambul, you had to return very quickly, and the great task could not be completed, even Erivan and Tabriz were lost. Will Your Majesty now give your undivided attention to this matter and assemble a great and invincible force, and advance speedily to the frontier. If Your Majesty

continues to remain in those regions for two or three years, and every year sends out powerful armies in the direction of Baghdad, Erivan and Azarbaijan, it is hoped that with God's help and prayer of the holy saints they will be defeated and the holy tombs will be purified with the removal of these dirty and cursed unbelieving innovators. Your Majesty will also acquire a great fame in this world and a great reward in the other. If God wishes our world-conquering armies will also soon move to Qandahar and Khorasan. The rulers of Trans-Oxiana and Balkh have promised to move on their side at the same time. As this letter had to be entrusted to a very trusty servant to safeguard against any possible leakage of information, Mir Zarif the noble sayyid, has been honoured with this great trust. As the object of his mission is only to deliver safely this letter it is hoped, Your Majesty will dismiss him very soon, and will on your side reopen the doors of correspondence."

It was such horses Mir Zarif was sent to purchase. His mission was most important from the political viewpoint, for it aimed at establishing an alliance of sunni powers against Persia as Shahjahan himself says in the same letter "The ties of religion are the strongest of ties and the bonds of sect the best justification for a union."

As it was very important to keep the object of this

mission as secret as possible, consequently a more well known officer was not selected.

Embassy of Arslan Beg 1640 A.D.

After the fall of Baghdad Murad sent Arslan Beg with a letter[1] and presents which included a horse from his own stables with jewelled saddles and trappings, and a few horses from the stables of Khalf Khan that had fallen into his hand. Zarif too was dismissed with due honours.[2] Muhammad Pasha having been killed during the siege his successor, the famous Mustafa Pasha, sent a reply to Afzal Khan. Both the ambassadors travelled via the Arabian Sea and landed at Lahiribandar.

As soon as the news of their arrival reached Shahjahan, he sent a khilat to both of them. Khwas Khan the governor of Tatta, was ordered to give Rs 1,000/- to Arslan. Najabat Khan the governor of Multan was also ordered to give Rs 6,000/- to each of the ambassadors. Qazaq Khan and Shah Quli were also ordered to give them Rs 4,000/- each when they passed through their district. At Lahore Zarif left Arslan and hastened in advance to the Emperor. On his arrival Shahjahan increased his rank gave him the post of Akhta Begi and the title of Fidai Khan. Muhammad Hussain Saldoz was appointed as the official Mehmandar of the Turkish ambassador, and was ordered to bring him to Kashmir.

---

[1] I have not been able to find this letter in any Indian or Turkish Insha.

[2] Naima I, p.666.

On twentieth Safar 1048 A.H. Arslan Beg presented his credentials and the Sultan's presents. He also brought his son Muhammad with him. Though the tone of Sultan Murad's letter offended Shahjahan very much, yet Arslan was treated with great respect and honour. There was also now no need to form an alliance of sunni powers for Qandahar had already fallen into his hands, and Shahjahan was dreaming of conquering his ancestral lands and Persian neutrality was essential for the success of his schemes.

Arslan was dismissed with a reward and due honours in 1051, after the news of Sultan Murad's death reached India. No letter or presents were sent by the Emperor but a letter from Islam Khan to the Turkish Grand Vazir was given to Arslan. In this letter[1] Shahjahan was styled as the "Khalifa" and Islam Khan complained about Sultan Murad's letter in the following terms, "........i appeared none of the sultan's secretaries and servants have any knowledge of the ceremonials of the old sultans and do not seem to be acquinted with the manner of cultivating the friendship of the great monarchs, especially of this exalted house whose ancestors made th

---

[1] Dastur-ul-Insha ff.160.

whole earth their polo ground and reduced to obedience all the kings of the world."[1]

This was followed by a long account of the extent and power of the Mughal Empire, which is described as the most powerful state of the day and again the Khan says "The Turkish ministers were not aware of the proper way of addressing such a great Emperor." This was regarded as sufficient reason for not sending "another envoy". Arslan Beg was said to have "conducted himself in the most distinguished manner" and "various messages implying friendship, amity and harmony" were entrusted "to his tongue."

The letter was written in a tone of resentment and the closing remarks are particularly spiteful and insulting:......" these few words have been specially written at the express command of the Emperor - before whom the world bows down in obedience - Arslan Beg was honoured by kissing the royal threshold at the time of his departure and was given a bottle of the royal attar which has the sweetest smell in the world; two prayer rugs - which cannot be found anywhere else in the world except the royal palace here and two felts which have no equals. These presents were given to him to be

---

1 This refers to Timur and Shahrukh.

presented to the Sultan - the glory of Caesars - on his own behalf.[1] But in the end a hope was expressed for future relations.[2]

The Mission of Shaki.

There is no record of any other embassy until 1650 but two very interesting letters are recorded in Dastur-ul-Insha. During the time of the Grand Vazir Mustafa Pasha (1049-1053 A.H.) one, Mulla Shaki, came from Dara Shikoh with a letter and presents for Mustafa. He was also the bearer of the Prince's offerings to the holy shrines of Iraq. It is possible that the object of this mission was to secure the Sultan's support for Dara in the event of a civil war in India but no indication is to be found either in Dara's letter or Mustafa's reply, except a reference to the verbal messages to be delivered by Shaki in Dara's letter in the following words:-

"Mulla Shaki is being sent to wait on you. Please lend him your ear and be pleased to ponder on what he has to say."

Dara closes the letter with the following expression of hope:-

"It is hoped that the doors of correspondence will be opened through Shaki. If God willing in future one servant will always be sent to serve you."

---

[1] The prayer rugs and felts were probably meant to remind the Sultan of his humble origin.

[2] For an account of Arslan's return, see Lah: Vol.II, pp.216-218.

Mustafa sent a long reply full of an almost meaningless religious harangue and praise of Imam Abu Hanifa and Abdul Qadir Jilani. It acknowledged the piou offering and the letter and also referred to some verbal messages.

Possibly Shaki was also the bearer of Mustafa's rep to Islam Khan's letter.[1] In this Mustafa apologised f the misunderstanding caused by the tone of the Sultan's letter and says "The Sultans seated on the throne of Solomon have always been animated by the most friendly feelings for the monarchs of India who adorn the throne of Lahore. This union is evident and is secured against decay by the bonds of (sunni) sect. It is impossible to imagine even that any slight could have been intended an if some words are capable of double meaning they should not be interpreted in any unpleasant way by remote renderings."

The letter closes with the following remarks:- ".... the carpets and felts sent with Arslan Aqa were vaunted as worthy of being laid before the exalted Calip Our Sultans are above such petty things and consider the simple expressions of sincere friendship better than

1 Dastur-ul-Insha ff.161-162 b.

camel-loads of presents; let it be impressed on the noble mind of your king. It is hoped that the bonds of love and common faith will be further strengthened by the exchange of embassies."

The Embassy of Sayyid Mohi-ud-din 1650 A.D.

After Arslan's departure for ten years there was no exchanges of embassies between Turkey and India. In 1650 the Governor of Surat reported the arrival of a Turkish ambassador.[1] Sultan Muhammad IV sent Mohiud-di to recommend Naza Muhammad's case to Shahjahan.[2] Shahjahan issued very elaborate instructions for his reception at various provincial towns, with the amount o reward to be given to him at each place. He was very honourably received by Shahjahan and was dismissed in November 1651, and Haji Sayyid Ahmad Said was sent on return embassy,[3] with a letter from Shahjahan. The letter[4] is very long and bombastic, and is full of a description of Shahjahan's achievements in the Deccan and Trans-Oxiana.

The Embassy of Haji Ahmad Said 1652.

It seems Nasr Muhammad in his destitution had invoke the Sultan's aid and he in return sent a friendly letter of recommendation to Shahjahan. Shahjahan in

---

1 Waris ff.73b, 80.

2 See Naima II, p.420.

3 Waris ff. 81b.

4 Majmua-ul-Insha ff.139-57.

acknowledging the letter says that "the business of Nazr Muhammad had been taken in hand and arranged even before the arrival of the ambassador, and he had been graciously restored to the possession of his country." The letter goes on giving further details of Nazr's subsequent misfortunes. Shahjahan also defended his intervention in the affairs of Central Asia on religious grounds.

The Haji delivered the letter on the 23rd July 1653,[1] to the Sultan, who showered unusual honours on him. Among the presents for the Sultan were a girdle and dagger set with the purest jewels, a turban ornament set with a choice ruby and a beautiful jewelled sword. A series of banquets were given by the Sultan and his ministers, usually followed by learned discussions in which the gifted ambassador took a prominent part. Naima says that no ambassador was ever received with so much honour and pomp. The Sultan was much impressed with the discourses of the Indian ambassador, especially

---

1 According to Waris ff. 484 and 488, it should be 11th June; according to Abdi 21st July; Naima, however says 23rd (21st Rajab 1059). I think "Naima" is more reliable. See Naima II, page 420, "Coming of the Indian Ambassador." He gives an unusually long account of this embassy and entertainment given in honour of the Haji.

his praise of the beauties of the Golden Horne when he quoted the poet Mulhami.[1]

Naima says that Sayyid Ahmad was dismissed with Zulfaqar Aqa - "the Bosnian Ass" who was sent to India through the influence of his brother Saleh Pasha and als because he offered to pay his expenses. Among the Sultan's presents to the Shah of India were 25 most beautiful maidens. This statement of Naima is not supported by any Indian historian.

The Embassy of Zulfaqar.

As Mohiuddin had to go to the Imam of Yamen after the expiry of his mission in Turkey, Zulfaqar accompanie him only as far as Bara, as the Imam was then at war with Turkey. He reached Surat in December 1653. A great reception, more or less similar to that accorded to his predecessor, was given to him. Shahjahan gave him an audience in March 1654.[2]

The Sultan in his letter expressed great satisfactio at the Emperor's reply in connection with Nazr Muhammad[3] and lauded Shahjahan's kindness and generosity:

---

1 Naimā II. p.421:-

"شعب دابله وغوطه وسغد — در جهان شهرت جنان دارد
هر دو بوغاز شهر استنبول — در جنان شهرت جنان دارد"

2 Waris ff.481.

3 Majmua-ul-Insha ff.139-57.

Shahjahan was again offended with the tone of the Sultan's letter, but sent a reply for friendship with Turkey was now the only consolation left to him after the breach with Persia and Trans-Oxiana. In his reply he attributed the unsuitable wording of the letter to the Sultan's youth and bad counsellors.[1]

He also sent Qaim Beg with Zulfaqar. They left in August 1654, but after lingering for some time in Hijaz and Syria, reached Constantinople in May 1656. The Sultan showed him great honour and entertained him lavishly. The palace of Siawash Pasha was assigned for his residence. On the 15th May he presented Shahjahan's letter and presents. Naima says the presents were carried by over 250 porters.[2]

Qaim was dismissed after 3 months and the Sultan sent Hussain Agha, son of the famous Fakharud-din,[3] with presents and a letter. Both Qaim and Hussain (commonly known as Manzada) were given a robe of honour in course of a great dewan. The presents to Shahjahan included a choice horse with golden bridle covered with pearls, a jewelled saddle, etc. etc. As this ambassador reached

---

1 Waris ff.485-6.

2 Naima II, p.569.

3 Fakhruddin was the Prince of Jabel Druse; for his life see Khulasat-al-Athar, Vol.III, by Muhammad Amin ibni Muhib-ul-din (Cairo 1868). For his death see Naima I, p.589.

India during the din of the War of Succession, no mention of him is to be found in any Indian history, but Naima mentions it in the events of year 1067 A.H.[1]

---

1 Naima II, p.585. He also promises to give a full account of Hussain's return and his description of the War of Succession, but death prevented him from doing so

CHAPTER IV.

In 1667 A.D. Aurangzeb intended sending an embassy to Turkey and even appointed Shah Khwaja for this mission, but after some time the proposal was dropped.[1]

Coming of the Governors of Basra.

In 1661 Hussain Pasha, the governor of Basra, sent some horses and a letter; Aurangzeb sent him a reply and a reward.[2] Eight years after he fell into disgrace owing to the intrigues of his nephew Muhammad and his two influential supporters, Ibshir Pasha and Mustafa Pas of Baghdad. Hussain on the approach of the Turkish Army escaped to Persia and from there came to India. Aurangzeb bestowed a mansib of 5,000 on him and of 2,000 on each of his two sons.[3]

In 1671 Yahya Pasha, after leading an unsuccessful revolt, too escaped to India and got a mansab from Aurangzeb,[4] who showed him great favour.

The Embassy of Ahmad Aqa 1690.

In 1101 Sultan Sulaiman II, who was attempting to revive the past glories of his house, sent Ahmad Aqa with a letter and presents. In his letter the Sultan refers to the old friendship between the two houses and

---

1 See Akhbarat, pp.9, 23.

2 Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp.86-87.

3 Maasir, p.121. Maasir-ul-Umara I, p.241.

4 ibid. p.110.

For an account of the coming of Yahya and Hussain see Ahmad Al Baghdadi's Uyun Akhbar-Al-Ayan-Arab (Add.2331 ff.389b.

expresses a hope about the resumption of correspondence He also desired to form an alliance against the Persians.[1] The Sultan sent almost a similar, but much longer letter to Subhān Quli at the same time.[2]

As I have pointed out elsewhere Akbar and Shāhjahān did not follow a consistent attitude towards the question of the Ottoman Caliphate. At times both of them addressed the Sultan as "Khalifa" in most unmistakable terms, yet after a lapse of few years both openly took the title of "Khalifa". Akbar in the heyday of his power had inscribed on his gold coin "The great sultan, the exalted Khalifa"[3] and Shāhjahān too, took, besides, the title of "Saheb-i-qiran-i-sani". It may be said to the credit of Aurangzeb that he all along adopted a consistant attitude on this question. In the very beginning of his reign he assumed the title of "Khalifa" and styled himself as such with his correspondence with the rulers of Persia and Turan. His ministers went to the length of describing him as "the true successor of Khulafa-i-Rashidin". It is

1. For the letter see Or . 7857. ff.18a.

2. Ibid, ff.19a.

3. Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum (S. Lane-Poole) p. x xiii.

possible this was the reason of his not sending an embassy to Turkey. His reply, if he did send one, to the Sultan's letter is nowhere forthcoming but it is improbable that a ruler of Aurangzeb's calibre could have ever acknowledged

> "A Caliph in a cage, between a boy slave and a harlot,
> Repeating all they tell him parrot-like."[1]

---

1 خليفة في قفص بين وصيف وبغي يقول ما قالا له تقول البغاء

This contemporary couplet was quoted by Ibn Khaldun in his first Muqaddamah about the Abbaside Caliphs, it was equally true of the Ottoman sultans at this time.

CONCLUSION.

It is never easy to review past events and policies after three centuries from a new perspective. We who are accustomed to radio, aeroplanes and other modern facilities cannot truly estimate the difficulties and handicaps under which Mughal diplomacy worked. But for generations it worked efficiently and succeeded in maintaining, as the foregoing pages have shown, a strong link with the outer Muslim world till Aurangzeb and his contemporary sovereigns - for the decline was general - were compelled by the force of circumstances to sever those time-honoured bonds, and thus unconsciously isolated each other.

As far as I know no previous attempt has been made to study the foreign relations of the Mughal Empire, and this was an omission which misled many historians from a proper understanding of some events in India. I have tried to meet this want; how far I have succeeded it is yet difficult to assess, but I can at least hope that my humble efforts may attract the attention of someone better fitted for this task.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y.

(ORIENTAL)

ʿAbdul ʿAlī Tabrīzī: Inshā-i-Tabrīzī. ADD 6600

ʿAbdul Bāqi: Maʿāsir-i-Rahīmi.

ʿAbdul Hamīd Lāhuri: Pādshāhnāma.

ʿAbdul Hassan bin Ibrāhim Qazvīnī: Fawāid-i-Safavīa. ADD 16,698.

ʿAbdul Karīm bin ʿAlī Rizā: Zinat-ut-twārīkh. ADD 23,51

(For Safavīs ff 586 b - 702 b, Mughals 763 b, Ottomans 732 a)

ʿAbdul Qādir Badāūnī: Muntakhabut-twārīkh.

ʿAbdullāh: Marāsilāt-i-Qutbshāhi. ADD 6600.

ʿAbdur Rahīm Khān Khānan: Vākiʿāt-i-Bāburi.

ʿAbdur Rahmān: Mirāt-i-Āftāb-numā. ADD 16697. (For Mughal Emperors 189a-253)

ʿAbdur Razzāq Samarqandi: Matla-i-Sa'dain wa Majma i Behrain. ADD 17,928. (There is an unpublished translation in Bib. Nat. Paris by M. Galand.)

Abu'l Fath (Qābil Khān): Adab-i-Alamgiri. OR 177.

Abu'l Fazl: Akbarnāmā.

Ain-i-Akbari.

Mukātebāt.

Abu'l Qāsim Aivāghalī Haidar: Jāmiʿa-i-marāsilāt. ADD 7688.

Abu Turāb: Tārikh-i-Gujrāt.

Ahmad al Baghdādi: Uyun Akhbar al-ayan ʿArab. ADD 2331(

(Arabic)

Ahmad Feridūn Beg: (1) Munshaʿat-i-Salātīn. (Turkish)

(2) Munsha'at wa baz waqâ'i Sultān Sulaimān Khān.
(Vienna 327)

<u>'Alī bin 'Azizullah</u>: Burhān-i-Māāsir.

<u>'Alī binush-Shehāb Hamadāni</u>: Zakhirat-ul-Mulūk. ADD 7618.

<u>Allahdad Sirhindi</u>: Akbarnāma.

<u>Amīr Ahmad Rāzi</u>: Haftiqlīm. OR 203.

<u>Amīr Muhammad</u>: Tārīkhi Isma'il wa Tahmāsp. OR 2939.

<u>'Āqil Khān</u> (Mīr Askari Rāzi): Zafarnāmā-i-'Ālamgiri.
(wrongly ascribed to Amir Khān)

<u>Asád Beg Qazvīnī</u>: Waq'āi.

<u>Ashraf Khan</u>: Majmuā-ul-Inshā. OR 1702.

<u>Badī-uz-zamīn</u> (Rashīd Khān): Latāiful Akhbār.

<u>Bhīm Sen</u>: Nuskhā-i-dilkushā. OR 23.

<u>Brindabān</u>: Lubut-twārīkh. ADD 26251.

<u>Chandar Bhān</u>: Chahār Chaman-i-Brahmin. 16863.

<u>Faizi</u>: Waqāi't, etc.

<u>Fazl bin Ruzbahān Isfahāni</u>: Saluk-ul-Mulūk. ADD 27251

Faridi: Tārikh-i-Sultān Sulaimān Khān. (Vienna H.O.4

Ferishta: Tārikh. (Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi)

Firzūni Astarābādi: Futuhāti Ādilshāhi.

Ghulām Husain: Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin.

Ghulām Murtaza: Basātin-us-Salātin. ADD 26269.

Gulbadan Begum: Humāyunnāma.

Haidar Balgrāmī: Savānih-i-Akbarī. OR 1665.

Ibrāhim Pāshā: Tārikh. ADD 18071. (Turkish)

Ināyat Khān: Ināyatnāma. I.O.L. 411.

Isāri Ābdullah: Dastur-ul-Inshā. Vienna H.O. 167.

Ishar-dās: Futuhāt-i-Ālamgiri.

Iskandar Mirzā Munshī: Ālam-ārāi-Ābbāsi.

Islām bin Ahmad bin Muhammad-al-Ghazāli: Saluk-ul-Saltanat. OR 254.

<u>Jalāl Hisāri</u>: Arzdāsht.

<u>Jalāluddīn Munajjim Yazdī</u>: Tārikh-i-Shāh ʿAbbās. ADD 2

<u>Jauhar</u>: Tazkirat-ul-Vākiāt.

<u>Kamāl-uddīn bin Jalāl</u>: Zubdat-ut-twārīkh. OR 2060.

<u>Kāmgār Hussain</u>: Maʾāsir-i-Jahāngīrī. ADD 26,220.

<u>Khāfi Khān</u>: Muntakhb-ul-lubāb.

<u>Khushāl Chand</u>: Tārikh-i-Muḥammadshāhi. ADD 24,027.

(ff 195 b - 473 for Babur to Aurangzeb.

<u>Khwand Mir</u>: (Ghiyās-ud-din bin Humām): Habib-us-Siyar.

ADD 23,508. (for Ismaʿil I.)

<u>Mahmud bin Muhammad</u> (Khwajā Gavan) : Riyaz-ul-Insha.

OR 1,739.

<u>Mir Khwand</u> Ruzatus Safá.

<u>Mīr Maʿsum</u>: Tārīkh-i-Sindh.

<u>Mufazzal Khān</u>: Timurnāmā. OR 1703.

<u>Muḥammad II</u> (Letters of): Al Marāsilāt wa al Mukātib.

OR 16 (Turkish)

<u>Muhammad ʿAlī bin Nurā</u>: Tārīkh-i-Ismaʿil. OR 3245.

<u>Muḥammad ʿAlī bin Sādiq</u>: Mirāt-us-Safā.

Muhammad Amin: Majmua-ul-Insha. OR 1599.

Muhammad Aslam: Farhat-ul-Nazirin. ADD 6943. (For Mughal Emperors ff 268-519b)

Muhammad Baka (Bakhtawar Khan): Mirat-ul-alam. ADD 7

Muhammad bin Mir Wali: Bahr-ul-asrar fi manakib Alakh

I.O. L 575. (History of the Ashtarkhanis)

Muhammad Haidar Dulghat: Tarikh-i-Rashidi. ADD 24090

Muhammad Hus/ain Azad: Darbar-i-Akbari.

Muhammad Ma'sum: Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai.

Muhammad Qasim: Alamgirnama.

Muhammad Sadiq: Subh-i-Sadiq. Egerton 1016.

Shahjehannama.

Muhammad Saleh Kambuh: Amal-i-Saleh. ADD 26221.

Bahar-i-Sukhan. OR 178.

An Account of the Expedition t

Balkh. OR. 1683.

Muhammad Shafi: Mirat-ul-varidat. OR 1705.

Tarikh-i-Chaghtai. ADD 25787.

Muhammad Tahir Ashna: Mulakhas. OR 175.

Muhammad Waris: Padshahnama. OR 1675.

Muhammad Yusuf bin Khwaja Baka: Tazkirah-i-Mukim Khan

R.A.S. 161.

Munshi Malakzada: Nigar-namah-i- Munshi. OR 173.

Mustafa Chelabi bin Jalal: Tabkat-ul-memalik. ADD 78

(Turkish)

Mustaid Khan: Maasir-i-Alamgiri.

Mutamid Khan: Iqbalnama.

Naimā: Tārikh-i-naima. T 167 (Br.Mus.) (Turkish)

Nʿimatullah: Makhzan-i-Afghāni. Egerton 696.

Nizām-uddin: Tabaqāt-i-Akbari.

Nizāmuddin bin ʿAbdullah: Hadiqat-us-Salātin. ADD 654

Nizām-ul-mulk Tūsi: Seyāsat-nāmā. ADD 23516.

Naseeh. OR 256.

Qazvini (Mirza Amināi): Pādshāhnāmā. OR 173.

Rafiuddin Shirāzi: Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk. ADD 24089.

Sādiq Khān: Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni. OR 1673.

Sharif bin Mansūr: Adāb-ul-Muluk. Add: 16853

Shāhnawāz Khān (Mir Abdur Razzāq): Maʼāsir-ul-Umarā. ADD 26248.

Sīdi ʿAli Ries: Mirātul-Mamālik. (Turkish)

Subhāri Lal: Tuhfat-i-Shāhjahāni. I.O.L. 337.

Sujān Rāo: Khulāsāt-ut-twārikh. ADD 11632.

Tāhir Wahīd: Ruqāt-i-Shāh 'Abbās II. (Also known as Munshāt-i-Tāhir) ADD 11632.

Tārikh-i-Jadid. ADD 1163.

Tanish bin Muhammad al Bukhāri: Abdullahnāma. I.O.L. MS. No. 574. (Very rare)

Wali Quli Shāmlū: Qisas-ul-Khāqāni. ADD 7656.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

ENGLISH, FRENCH, etc.

Abdul Ghani:

A History of the Persian Language and Literature a the Mughal Court.

Abdullah Yusuf Ali:

Three Travellers.

The Self-Revelation of Babur.

The Making of India.

Ahmad Din:

Aurangzeb and his Time.

Ali Muhammad Khan:

Political and Statistical History of Gujrat.

Anastase, Pere:

Un ambassadeur carme a la cour des rois de Perse au XVI siecle.

Andrew, W. P.:

India and her neighbours.

Arnold, T. :

Caliphate.

<u>Bachoud, P.</u> :

Lettre du Père Bachoud, 1723. (Missionnaire de la C
agnie de Jésus en Perse)

<u>Baffin, W.</u> :

Voyages. (Markham)

<u>Barbaro and Contarini</u>:

Travels in Persia. (Hak. Soc.)

<u>Barthold</u>:

Turkestan.

<u>Beal, T.W.</u> :

An Oriental Biographical Dictionary.

<u>Bell, R.</u>:

Travels. (Indian Antiquary 1906-8)

<u>Benipersad</u>:

History of Jehangir.

[illegible]

[illegible]

<u>Bernier, F.</u>:

Travels in the Mogul Empire.

<u>Beveridge, A.S.</u>:

Life of Akbar. (Translation of Von Noer's book)

Baburnama. (Translation)

Humayunnama. (Translation)

<u>Beveridge, H.</u>:

Akbarnama. (Translation)

The Memoirs of Tahmasp.

India's debt to Persia.

Van Poeser's diary in Persia and India.

<u>Billimoria, J.H.</u>:

Letters of Aurangzeb.

<u>Birdwood, G.</u>:

First Letter Book of East India Co.

<u>Blochman, H.</u>:

Ain-i-Akbari. (Translation)

Maasir-ul-umarā. (Translation)

<u>Briggs, J.</u>:

Rise of Mahammedan Power in India.

Translation of Siyar-ul-mutakharin.

<u>Brouwer</u>:

Akbar.

Browne E. G.:

Persian Literature in Modern Times.

Persian Literature under Tatar.

History of Persian Literature.

Chahar Maqala.

Bruce, J.:

Annals of East India Company.

Bryce:

International Relations.

Brydges, H. J.:

History of the Kajars.

Buckler:

Caliph and Caesar.

Burgnon, M.:

Relation exacte concernant les caravan ou corteges des marchands d'Asie.

Bury, J.:

History of the Later Roman Empire.

Cambon, J.:

Le Diplomate.

Cambridge History of India.

Carew:

Letters to Sir Thomas Roe.

Chapman, L.

The Fourth Voyage into Persia made by Edward's agent, Sparke, in 1568.

Chapman:

Translation of Asad's Waqaya' (Papers of Sir H. Elli[s] in the British Museum)

Clavijo, R. G. de:

Embassy to Tamerlan. (Trans. by Guy Le Strange)

Cook, J.:

Voyages and Travels. (Through Russia, Persia, etc. in 1748)

Cordier:

Travels of Marco Polo.

Coryat, T.:

Travels, Letters, etc.

Courteille, P.:

Memoires de Baber.

Covert, R.:

A True and Almost Incredible Report.

Creasy, E.:

History of Turkey.

Curzon:

Frontiers.

Russia in Central Asia.

Persia dnd Persian Question.

Danvers, F. C.:

The Rise of Portuguese Power in India.

Portuguese East India Records. (Geog.J. 1893. ii. page 248)

Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East, 1602-17.

Darell, J.:

Strange News from th'Indies. (1652)

Davies, J.:

Mendelslo's Travels.

Davy:

Tuzkat-i-Timuri.

Debidour:

Histoire Diplomatique.

De Callier, F.:

Diplomacy.

Defremery, C.H.:

Histoire des Khans Mongols du Turkestan et de la Transoxiane. J.Asiat 1852.

De Groot, H.:

The Ambassador and his function.

De Guignes:

Histoire des Huns, de Turcs et Mogols.

De Laet, J.:

De Imperio Maguir Mongolis. (Trans: by Hoyland)

Doll, J.:

Travels from St. Petersburg to Isfahan, etc.

De Real:

La Science du Gouvernement.

De Totte, F.:

Memoires sur les Huns et Tatars, etc.

D'Ohsson, C.:

Histoire des Mongols, etc.

Dourry, Effendi:

Relation de Dourry Effendi, ambassadeur de la Porte Othomane aupres du roi de Perse en 1720. (By Pe de la Croix)

Du Cerceau, J.A.:

A History of the Revolution in Persia. (Translated by Chardin)

Dugat, G.:

Histoire des Orientalistes de l'Europe du XII^e au XIX^e siecle.

Du Jarric:

Akbar and Jesuits. (Translated by Payne)

Dorn, B.:

Translation of Makhzan-i-Afghani.

Downing, C.:

A History of the Indian Wars, 1715-23. (Edited by W. Foster)

Earle, J.:

Letters and Will of Aurungzeb.

Edwardes, S. M.:

Mughal Rule in India.

Babur - Diarist and Despot.

Edwards, J.:

The Voyages of J. Edwards. (Hakl: Soc:)

Elliot, H.:

History of India as Told by its Historians.

Historians of India.

Unpublished Papers (British Museum)

Elphinston, M.S.:

History of India.

Kingdom of Cabul.

Erdmann:

Notes sur l'histoire de Shāh Abbās. J.Asiat, 1824. page 86.

Erskine:

History of India.

Memoirs of Babur.

Eversley:

History of Turkey.

Fanshawe, H. C.:

Delhi Past and Present.

Faria y Sousa:

Asia Portugesa. (Translated by J. Stevens)

Fontenay, Le Fevre de:

Journal historique du voyage et des aventures singulieres de l'ambassadeur de Perse en France.(171

Foster, J.W.:

Diplomatic Practices.

Foster, W.:

East India Company Records.

English Factors in India.

Early Travels.

The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.

Galand:

The Unpublished translation of Abdur Razàq's Matala-i-saadain. Bib.Nat. Paris. (fonds francais No. 6084-7)

Galdwin:

Ain-i-Akbari. (Translation)

Garbe, R. von:

Akbar.

Goldie, F.:

The First Christian Mission to the Mogul.

Grenard, F.:

Baber.

Gribble:

History of the Deccan.

Guerreiro, F.:

Jahangir and Jesuits (Payne)

Gupta, J.N.D.:

India in the XVII Century.

Guy, Le Strange:

Don Jaun of Persia.

Hakluyt, J.:

Principles of Navigation.

Hammer Von:

An account of the Mission of Yusuf Agha to England.

(Translation)

History of the Ottoman Turks.

Hankey, M.:

Diplomacy by Conference.

Hawkin:

Voyages. (C. Markham)

Herbet, T.:

Some Years of Travels.

Herbette, M.:

Une Ambassade Persane sous Louis XIV. (1685)

Holden:

Mughal Emperors of India.

Howorth, H. H.:

History of the Mongols. Imperial

Imperial Gazetteer.

Hughes, T. P.:

A Dictionary of Islam.

Hunter, W.:

Indian Empire.

Ruin of Aurangzeb. (XIX Century, May 1887)

Irvine, W.:

The Army of Indian Mughals.

Articles in the Journals of R.A.S. and A. S. of Ben

Later Mughals.

A Pepys of Mogul India.

Jerrans, B.:

Travels of Rabbi Benjamin.

Reclus:

L'Asie Orientale.

Keen:

The Turks in India.

History of Hindustan.

Kehr, G.J.:

Aurenkszeb. (Lepise 1725)

Kennedy:

History of the Great Mughals.

Krausse, A.:

Russia in Asia.

Lane-Poole, S.:

The Mahammadan Dynasties.

Mediaeval India.

Babar.

Aurangzeb.

History of the Mughal Emperors as told by their co

Turkey.

<u>Latif, M.</u>:

Agra and the Court of Akbar.

History of the Punjab.

<u>Lee, S.</u>:

Travels of Ibn Batuta.

<u>Locke, J. C.</u>:

The first Englishmen in India.

<u>Lovell</u>:

The Travels of De Thevenot.

<u>Jenks</u>:

Law of Politics in Middle Ages.

<u>Jones and Badger</u>:

The Travels of Ludovico de Varthema.

<u>Lancaster, J.</u>:

Voyages. (Markham)

<u>Lindsay, Ronald</u>:

"The Machinery of Diplomacy." (An address delivered to the Canadian Club, Ottawa)

Machiavelli, N.:

The Prince.

Advice to his son.

Modern Policies.

Private Correspondence.

Historical, Political and Diplomatic Writings.

Maclagan, E.:

On Jesuit Missions. (A.S.B. Journal, 1896, page 42)

Major, R. H.:

India in the fifteenth Century.

Malcolm, J.:

History of Persia.

Sketch of the Political History of India.

Malleson, G. B.:

Akbar.

Mandelslo, J. A. von:

Travels. (Harris II)

Manrique, S.:

Travels. (Hakluyt)

Manucci, N.:

Storia do Mogor. (Irvine)

Maurice, J.:

History of India.

Minadoi, J.:

Account of Turco-Persian Wars, 1577-87. Notes on religion, government, etc. of Persia. Translated into English by Abraham Hartwell, 1595.

Monserrate, A.:

Commentary. (Hoyland and Banerjee)

Moreland:

India at the death of Akbar.

From Akbar to Aurangzeb.

Muir, W.:

The Caliphate, etc.

Mukerji, R.:

History of Indian Shipping.

Murray, E. C. G.:

Embassies and Foreign Courts.

Oakes, A. H.:

Great European Treaties, etc.

Oaten:

European Travellers in India.

Oliver:

Safvis. (J.A.S.B. 1887; page 37)

Orme, R.:

Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire.

Owen, S. J.:

Fall of the Mogul Empire.

Pelsaert, F.:

Jehangir's India. (Translated by Moreland)

Peter Mundy:

Travels. (Hak. Soc.)

Pietra de la Valle:

Travels. (Hak. Soc.)

Poole, R. S.:

Coins of the Shahs of Persia.

Price, D.:

Mahommedan History.

Autographical Memoirs of Jehangir.

Ro

Raverty:

Translation of Tabkat-i-Nasiri.

Notes on Afghanistan.

Rodd, R.:

Diplomacy.

Ross, E. D.:

Translation of Tarikh-i-Rashidi.

An Arabic History of Gujrat.

The Heart of Asia.

The Early Years of Shāh Ismail (J.R.A.S.1896.p 249)

Roe, T

The Embassy

Ryley, J. H.:

England's Pioneers to India.

Sainsbury, W. N.:

Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series, East Indies. (1513-1629)

Sarkar, J.:

History of Aurangzeb.

Mughal Administration.

Studies in Mughal India.

Anecdotes, etc.

Ahkam-i-Alamgiri. (Edited)

<u>Schefer, C.</u>:

L'Estat de la Perse, en 1660.
Selections from Dastur-ul-Insha

<u>Scott</u>:

History of the Deccan.

Translation of the Memoirs of Iradat Khan.

<u>Sell and Lawrence</u>:

Story of India to the death of Aurangzeb.

<u>Senkowski, J.</u>:

Supplement a l'Histoire General des Huns, des Turcs et des Mongols. (Petersbourg, 1824)

<u>Sherley, A.</u>:

A True report of his Journey.

<u>Sherley, E. P.</u>:

The Shirley Brothers.

<u>Sleeman, W. H.</u>:

Rambles and Recollections.

<u>Smith, V.</u>:

Akbar.

History of India.

<u>Stewart, C.</u>:

Translation of Tazkerah-al-Vakiat. JAUHAR

Sykes, P.:

History of Persia.

Historical Notes on S. E. Persia. (J.R.A.S. 1902)

Historical Notes on Khurasan. (J.R.A.S. 1910)

Khurasan. (J. R. Soc. Art. 1914)

Thomas, E.:

Revenue Resources of the Mogul Empire.

Tod:

Annals of Rajistan.

Travernier, J. B.:

Travels. (Translated by V. Ball)

Vambery, A.:

History of Bokhara.

Hungary.

Turkey. (Historians History)

Siddi Ali's Travels. (Translation)

Vladimirtsor:

Life of Chingis Khān.

Wesilowskij, N. I.:

Diplomatic Relations between Russia and Persia. (School of Oriental Studies)

Whyte, A. F.:

The Practice of Diplomacy.

Wilson, T.:

Bibliography of Persia.

Yosuf Fahmi:

Histoire de la Turquie.

Yule:

Cathy.

Hobson-Jobson.

Journey to the Sources of Oxus.

Zetland:

India: A Bird's-eye View.